

INSIDE: Japan prepares to rearm

# Maclean's

JULY 25, 1983

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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## THE AGONY OVER ABORTION

Dr. Henry Morgentaler



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

JULY 25, 1983 VOL. 60 NO. 30

## COVER

### The agony over abortion

Dr Henry Morgentaler had long won his battle in Quebec against anti-abortion laws and pressure groups, but when he spread his sphere of operations to Winnipeg and Toronto, where he saw more dramatic changes, one of the nation's most divisive and bitter issues exploded with unprecedented vehemence and displays of moral outrage.

—Page 37



### Sorceress' casualties

Angry reaction to British Columbia's tough budget yesterday last week as fired public employees cleared out their desks and labor threatened action.

—Page 10

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### The mystery at Sick Kids

The once-assured name, Susan Nelles, is back at work while a new inquiry probes the unexplained infant deaths at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children.

—Page 49



### Dancing the night away

John Travolta returns to the screen as the agile Tony Manero in *Saturday Night Fever*.

—Page 63



## LETTERS

### Census contention

I would like to congratulate the editorial and writing team for the excellent job of bringing the Canadian census to life for your readers. (The song we are, Cover, July 6) It is a pity that the article "From old country to new nation" was marred by some erroneous figures. Between 1971 and 1981 the foreign-born population rose from 2.8 million (out of a total of 22.6 million), or 12.1 per cent of the population, at the beginning of the decade to almost 3.9 million (out of a total of 24.7 million), or 15.1 per cent, by the time of the last census. There was an absolute increase of 272,000 people and not "about 250,000" as stated in the article. In the same period, the Canadian-born population increased by almost two million. This was also an rate of increase (3.6 per cent over the decade) compared with 17.3 per cent for the foreign-born, as noted later in the article.

—ANTHONY H. EICHORN,  
Sociology Dept., York University,  
Downsview, Ont.

So, Gladys Clouston, co-chairwoman of the Centre for Spanish-Speaking People, would like to spend some of the taxpayers' money as choices for immigrant children in their mother tongue (From old country to new nation). Worse yet, she views the proceeding of these funds as "a fight." How presumptuous! My parents and I emigrated to Canada from West Germany in 1961 when I was five years old. Today, I speak fluent German. My parents passed on to me their heritage, their values, and their language. They certainly never thought of burdening the school system with de-



### PASSAGES

**DATE:** Author Gabrielle Roy, 74, of a heart attack, in Quebec City (page 55).

**DEATH:** Kenneth Milner, 37, known to millions of mystery fans as Ross MacDonald, the creator of the Lew Archer detective series of Alabamian's disease, in Santa Barbara, Calif. Born in California to Canadian parents, Milner spent much of his early life in Kitchener, Ont., before he returned to the United States for a doctorate in literature from the University of Michigan. There he studied with W.E. Andes, an important influence on his life. Milner also admired mystery greats Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler, whose characters Sam Spade and Philip Marlowe were, in part, role models for Archer, who came to incorporate some of the characteristics of his creator, a critically acclaimed master of the genre.

**EXONERATED:** Actress Butterfly McQueen, 72, who played Scarlett O'Hara's slave Prissy in the 1939 movie classic *Gone with the Wind*. Two bus terminal security guards accused McQueen of vagrancy and picketing outside a movie theater in Washington upheld her charges that the guards had harassed her. She was awarded \$60,000.

**FILM:** Vaudeville and movie performer Eddie Fey Jr., 70, of cancer of the prostate. He was Los Angeles hospital best known for his performances in *The Farmer Takes a Wife* (1933) and *The Peacock Glance* (1937). Fay was the son of Eddie Fey Sr. and was one of "several little Fays" of vaudeville whom film biography under that title starred Bob Hope in 1954.

**OBITUARY:** Roosevelt Sykes, 77, the Chicago-based blues artist and pianist who wrote such songs as *Dreams*, *Wheel and Nightingale* (*Aspinwall*) and *The Right Thing*, of a heart attack in New Orleans. Sykes, who sang the blues for more than 50 years and influenced the music of Ray Charles, Elvin Bishop and B.B. King, moved to New Orleans in 1969 and became a Baptist deacon.

**SENTENCE:** Gérald Grégoire, 57, the Quebec national assembly member who was expelled from the Parti Québécois caucus last month after his conviction on seven counts of committing sexual acts with juvenile girls, by Juvenile Court Judge André Simard. Grégoire received a sentence of two years less a day and a \$100 fine for the first charge and concurrent 12-month sentences plus \$400 in fines for each of the other six. A request for leave to appeal will be heard in the Quebec Superior Court this week.

### Too hard on Joe

The descriptively clinical catalogue of Joe Clark's physiological infirmities under the implied heading of "political embarras" is a branch of responsible journalism and is probably similar to the man and his family. (The man who ate his own gross, Coverless, June 26) I am apologetic between a smile and a groan, but this kind of reporting needs of course for all applicants to public office who cannot boast physical symmetry and potentially great news for plastic surgeons and prostate engineers. And why, if your writer has gone so far, does he not examine the physiognomies of other losers—the podge and chow of John Crosbie or Peter Peckington's facial fail? By year pastime standards, Abraham Lincoln never would have made the U.S. presidency, nor would John A. Macdonald have made it an Ottawa. What, exactly, is the perfect physical specimen for the prime ministership? Heaven help Brian Mulroney, whom you obviously revere on those grounds, if he still manages to fall. —JIM BREWER, Charlottetown

I have never voted for a PC candidate, nor am I ever likely to do so. However, I confess to a considerable admiration for Joe Clark as an individual. Maybe the real message behind the leadership convention was that Clark should not have been elected leader in 1979. If that is so, then the PCs have only themselves to blame for what followed. But it took a two-thirds majority was not enough support for the leader, so it took lying right to defeat defeat at the convention with guns. (Personally, I suspect that any leader who is not from Central Canada would have needed getting more support.) Hence my integrity see two qualities that are all too rare in politics. Maybe that is why the "pros" did not like him.

—D.M. WOOD, Etobicoke

### Radioisotopes and the food chain

In your article on the proposed disposal of 100 old U.S. plutonium nuclear submarines (A dispute grows for old weapons, Dateline, June 20), Molotov Joe Clark of the University of California at Santa Cruz has suggested a way to put plutonium into the food chain. The plutonium would be used as a tracer in foodstuffs of marine life. These could be eaten by fisherman, who at each stage the radioisotope would become more concentrated. Studies at Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd.'s Chalk River nuclear laboratories have shown that this concentration does not occur. Since 1952 the French

Lake Basin, which has slightly higher levels of radioisotides than normal northern shield lakes, due to seepage from disposed waste, has been heavily studied and characterized. The results of food-chain studies show that radioisotides, unlike DDT, PCBs and methylmercury, do not become more concentrated as they move up the food chain.

—JEFF MATTHEWS,  
Peterborough, Ont.

### China's peasants ignored

In writing about China's "new consumer revolution," your writer says that "Chinese citizens" in increasing numbers have cash in their pockets, that "every family" is looking to buy a television, refrigerator and new bedroom set, that the "average Chinese" now Pekin's first supermarket as a temple of modernity, and that "Chinese" are tourists in their own country. (Showcases of consumer entrepreneurship, Dateline, April 16). One can only ask what Ms. analysis would have read like had he taken seriously his own statement as originally embodied in the article: "The kinds of consumer choices that have evolved in the big cities are still unthinkable in large parts of the countryside." Most us Canadians constantly be trapped in our dealings with the Third World by our identification with morally insignificant urban elites. The majority of the world's population are peasants, but we choose to ignore them, we cannot relate to their way of life so we find ourselves instead criticizing these social classes with which we are most familiar. In the end, even the article's hidden assumptions may seem logical to us peasants in fact are not "consumers." After all, all they do is produce!

—DAVID K. RATH,  
Der el Salvo, Tennessee

### The Alpha Flight record

Just to set the record straight, I have not "overseen" since 1979. The *Universe* X-Men comic (A dangerous superhero, Publishing, June 20) Rather, beginning in 1977 and continuing until I left the title in 1980, I was part of the creative team of the book, at first only penning and later penning and scripting with then and current writers. Chris Claremont (Claremont was also scripter during those times which first introduced Alpha Flight) and although he had no part in the actual creation of the characters, at the very least he deserved a mention in your article for being "present at conception." —STEVE WRIGHT, New York City

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5G 2A7.

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—KIRKELL A. PALMER M.D.,  
Vancouver



## You can pour whisky

### FOLLOW-UP

## Handcuffs across the border

The step was both bold and—in Canadian-U.S. relations—unprecedented. The government of Canada petitioned a Florida district court last month in Jacksonville for a writ of habeas corpus asking the court to free Salvo Jaffe, a 39-year-old Canadian lawyer and land developer convicted in Florida in September, 1981, of unlawful land-sale practices. In the traditional language of such petitions, the document ringingingly declared: "Now comes Canada, a sovereign nation and body politic." If the petition succeeds, Florida would be forced to release Jaffe from custody and turn him over to Canadian authorities.

For more than two years diplomats in both countries have sparred over the Byramjee Jaffe case. The circumstances of Jaffe's conviction lie at the centre of the dispute. With the consent, and possible collusion, of Florida state officials, two American bounty hunters briefly removed Jaffe from Black Street West near his Toronto home in September, 1981, manacled him, drove him across the Canadian border to Ni-

agara Falls and flew him to Palatka, Fla., to stand trial. Florida Circuit Court Judge Robert Perry subsequently fined Jaffe \$150,000 and sentenced him to 36 years in prison. But Ottawa argued that his abduction was a clear violation of the U.S.-Canada Extradition Treaty, under which law enforcement authori-

***Two bounty hunters manacled a Canadian, drove him across the border and flew him to Florida for trial***

ties in one country, on request, respectively return fugitives from justice to the other's custody. The Canadian Bounty in Washington filed a string of protest notes and various Canadian cabinet officials breached the most directly negotiations with their Niagara administrative counterparts. But Ottawa's complaints proved unavailing

Washington insisted that the U.S. courts had given Jaffe due process regardless of how he arrived in Florida. The alleged kidnapping, it maintained, while reprehensible, was a separate matter best dealt with by the extradition of the bounty hunters to Canada and their subsequent trials. Indeed, after protracted hearings and appeals, Daniel Koor and Tim Johnson are now free on \$190,000 bail and are scheduled to stand trial in Toronto in November on kidnapping charges.

When diplomacy failed to obtain Jaffe's release, Ottawa sought legal assistance. Last fall it sent the U.S. justice department a 47-page brief formally claiming violations of the extradition treaty and infringement of Canada's sovereign right to grant or withhold asylum to fugitives. Moreover, the brief declared that because the facts of the case showed that state officials "premised and encouraged" Jaffe's removal to Florida, the U.S. federal government had a legal obligation to set Jaffe free.

After another long delay, the U.S. justice department in November, 1982,

finally accepted the Canadian argument—but with conditions. Disposing that Florida's participation in the alleged kidnapping scheme was clearly proven, it turned the case over to Florida Gov. Robert Graham and asked him to investigate. The justice department said that Washington would recommend that Jaffe be released only if direct state evidence was found.

Canadian officials were not happy with this technical victory, since it effectively allowed Florida to determine its own guilt or innocence. Ottawa awaited the governor's report with few illusions about its probable outcome. The skepticism was well-founded. Last month, in a 44-page report, counsel to Graham cleared Florida state attorney officials of any wrongdoing. At worst, it concluded, the state attorney's investigator, Glenn Narins, "may have exhibited some degree of poor judgment" in bringing one of the alleged kidnappers to testify one of the alleged kidnappers to locate Jaffe's Canadian address.

Canada again protested, labeling the report a cold whitewash. Last month Allan Godfrey, the Canadian ambassador to the United States, raised the issue directly with Deputy Attorney General Edward Schenck. Washington was sympathetic, conceding that the governor's finding was "disappointing." But the best alternative U.S. officials could offer was an effort to influence



Jaffe abducted from a Toronto street

the Florida Parole Board to release Jaffe early. His parole had originally been scheduled for last May 24 but was delayed six months at the express request of the Florida state attorney. In the meantime, Jaffe's appeal of his conviction and his own petition for his release under a writ of habeas corpus are still pending.

In short, Canada's novel recourse to the U.S. judicial system was a last resort. The petition for habeas corpus,

mentioning the Florida attorney general and the state's chief corrections officer as respondents, charged that Koor and Johnson acted "pursuant to a plan promulgated by officials of the state of Florida."

As outlined by Ottawa, when Jaffe failed to appear for trial, Perry issued a judgment against the bail company appropriating the \$150,000 that it had put up on Jaffe's behalf. But in a subsequent magistrate meeting, the state attorney's office lawyers for the bonding agency and county officials agreed to seek Perry to reverse his judgment, thus providing the financial incentive for the bail company's efforts to return Jaffe to Florida. Perry complied and the two bounty hunters, Koor and Johnson, were sent to Canada. However, Ottawa may not be able to prove that accurate. Various participants in the tripartite deal have since altered testimony given in depositions and at Johnson's extradition hearing. What Canada—and Jaffe—has in its favor is the weight of the original evidence and Washington's admission that important principles of international law—binding on states and private actors—are at stake. If a state such as Florida is free to flout an extradition treaty at its will, the integrity of all international agreements may be seriously eroded.

—MICHAEL POLLAK in Washington



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# The trials of Leonard Jones

During Leonard Jones's 11 years as mayor of Moncton, NB, and his four years as an independent member of Parliament, he was rarely at a loss for words. Fusty and controversial, Jones was particularly notorious for his staunch opposition to expanded French-language rights. In 1974, his outspoken criticisms of Ottawa's bilingualism policies prompted then-Conservative Leader Robert Stanfield to drop Jones from the PC national convention even though his Moncton riding association had duly nominated him. Jones, however, was seen as an independent at under the banner of "People's Choice" and handily won the seat. Now the 58-year-old continue distanced himself from political parties, but he still has a job. On July 4, New Brunswick Provincial Court Judge James McNamee found Jones guilty of making false and deceptive tax statements on earnings of more than \$290,000 between 1974 and 1977.

There was a time when Jones was rarely out of the news. While mayor from 1963 to 1974, he constantly waged strong and contrary battles on subjects as varied as long hair and Radisson-Canada's new \$45,000 Austrian-made Bissendorfer piano for his Masonic villa.

Once, when larvae Alberta book publisher Mel Harting arrived at the mayor's chambers, Jones told him, "I don't think I could believe you because I can't see your eyes." Another time, he pointedly took a gathering of New Brunswick mayors, "I'm fed up with that boozing that goes on at the public expense."

Jones' advocacy has greatest notoriety as an ardent opponent of official bilingualism. In 1969, angry Acadian students dumped a pig's head onto his docket after their requests for bilingual municipal services in Moncton, a city in which more than 70 per cent of the 63,000 residents are French-speaking—had resulted in an unapologetic howling at city hall. In 1974 Jones went so far as to challenge the constitutionality of Ottawa's Official Languages Act in the Supreme Court of Canada, an action that failed.

After his jump to federal politics in 1974, Jones served one four-year term as an independent member of Parliament before withdrawing from politics,

oring health problems. Today, Jones maintains that he never was "anti-French," but was simply opposed to what he believed was the federal government's heavy-handed system of implementing bilingualism. Of the Official Languages Act, he declares, "It was not bilingualism, it was separation."

Jones' protracted trial for tax evasion began last December but, because of numerous technical adjustments for sick relatives, courtroom availability, it did not wind up until last month. At the Brunswick Jones asserted, Judge McNamee said that the case "read as it began, as a question of credibility." McNamee was scheduled to sentence Jones this week. The former mayor faces a hefty fine—possibly as much as \$100,000—plus, though he was only \$18,000 in back taxes.

Jones now plans to concentrate on his law practice, which, he claims, is "booming." But he cannot quite give up the notion of someday running for office. "How old is Reagan?" he asked of the 78-year-old U.S. president. "Well, I'm 58—I think I still have a chance."

—DAVID FOLSTER in Moncton.



Leonard Jones

# Did you prevent the fire that didn't happen today or were you just plain lucky?

Most of us were just plain lucky because most of us haven't taken the proper steps to prevent a fire.

Fire chiefs and other safety specialists recommend that every residence should have at least one properly installed smoke detector. (Do you have one?) Also fire departments all provide free home inspections and will help in developing good fire prevention habits and an effective escape plan.

If you'd rather prevent a fire than simply rely on luck, maybe it's time you began taking the proper steps before everything you have goes up in smoke.

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## COLUMN

# A ticket to a boring Sally Ride

By Fred Bruening

**B**efore we spelled things out, outer space was a fascinating idea Americans children could be made at night, fraying how nutt it would be to glide through the galaxies, fighting for teeth and justice on this planet or that, conquering outer space and goddesses and then redacting away for further adventure and new maga-gists in the name of virtue and right. Those were times of unpeckable innocence, of course, and they are lost forever. Now we routinely blast off and land again a few days later, and not surprisingly, the whole thing has become tedious.

The problem goes beyond the simple fact of jet propulsion and terraforming vehicles. More than a triumph of engineering, our space program represents a crisis of personality. As a class of human beings, astronauts are not intriguing people—or maybe they are intriguing people, but the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has forbidden them to prove it. Probably both come in play. The astronauts are not, by nature, interesting, and even if they were, NASA would insist that no one ever knew.

A major factor in that spasticness is to be physical exertions very much dedicated to jogging and squatting, and that, given the circumstances, goes a long way toward explaining their idleness. As a general rule, individuals with square jaws, flat stomachs and freetrained thighs are too concerned by their own infallibility to deal on a meaningful level with those of us who eat potato sandwiches and drink Hootie's Footh and think it peculiar that anyone would want to sex around the neighborhood half-dressed at six o'clock in the morning. We are not in their league, let alone their sex.

Also, they talk funny. Everything is an acronym—NASA and IBM and IBM—if too many syllables would somehow weigh down the spacecraft and keep it stuck on the sand of Cape Canaveral. Expressive earthlings who speak in rows and columns, around as though there were as inextricable supply somehow are made to feel impudent and pedantic. The astronauts have a secret language, lean and mean and to the point. We don't know what it is. Is they are talking about, and let's face it, they seem intent on keeping us in the dark.

All of which brings us to Sally K.

Ride. Recording currently unoccupied the Challenger shuttle flight because she doesn't like the word "cosmonaut," she is about as weary as you can get. She's been up there since '83, 64 days, not the least afraid of space travel and, most important, whether everyone would stop thinking of her as a cosmopolitan. It is just too much of a burden, this business of intergalactic. "I've met thousands of intergalactic," protested astronaut Ride. One might have reminded her that "intergalactic" qualities rarely are of consequence in the United States. Success is its own reward. We only need turn to the White House for confirmation.

How encouraging it would have been to learn not that Sally Ride despises fame but that she sort of likes a touch of glitter now and then. How reassuring to discover that, two times a week, she hangs out at a country cook place where the bartender knows her only as Sally and that, oh, around 11 p.m., she grabs the mike and belts out endless torchy standards of Heart Like a Wheel. (Or better still, that after a hard day in the flight simulator, Sally Ride likes nothing more than to head for the Houston suburbs and, after a belly kiss for baby Steven Hawley (also an astronaut—one who was born at 11 p.m.), open a bag of chocolate-covered cherries, take the cover off her typewriter and harrumph away on the next chapter of a novel with the working title *Summer of Sin*).

Friendly as it's been missing here—a modicum of failure or indecision or carelessness. In the old days, Flash Gordon could afford to be perfect. Blood and boughs and forever on the heads of Ming the Merciless, he was only a flicker on the local movie screen, a dream that ensured every Saturday morning just as certainly as *Popcorn and Jaws*. In fiction, anything can happen. Life, though, is more complicated, or ought to be.

Should we now begin revisiting sentimentally country singers and paper-back novelist? Part-time strip-tease artists or folks who lose too much at the tables in Las Vegas? Probably not. Understandably, the government wants only the highest-culture people handling such multi-billion-dollar machinery. Builders and autodidacts, endevourers and overthinkers with proletarian pastimes. From them you get maximum efficiency and a minimum of waste. You get excellent heart rates. You get performance. Inspiration? Sorry, that's another department.

We prefer not to speak about herself—Ride has turned down 2,000 requests for interviews—and when,



Fred Bruening is a writer with *Newsweek*, n. New York.



GFL: making life more difficult for the poor and disadvantaged

## CANADA

# Bennett girds for a grinding battle

By Malcolm Gray

Ron Foly was relating at his house on Sunday evening that the sharp edge of the BC government's new cost-cutting programme suddenly had hit his job. First, Foly, 32, opened the door to a government agent who handed him a letter firing him from a five-year tenure as an investigations officer with the Territorial office of the provincial human rights branch. Then, the agent demanded that Foly immediately surrender the keys to his office and staff car. Foly and one of 400 public workers fired at the Social Credit government began to carry out its plan to reduce British Columbia's 64,000 public employees by 25 per cent as part of one of the most controversial cutbacks programs undertaken in Canada since the advent of the welfare state.

Last week, as the neutrals measured began to bite, the public shock turned to anger and those who are most threatened by the policies loudly denounced Premier William Bennett's government. Thwarted groups, outraged by the abolition of rent controls, presented rent

strikes. Union leaders threatened a general strike, and the Opposition NDP described the legislation as "hostile." There was even criticism from outside the province for budgetary resources such as the closure of the BC human rights commission and hospital user fees that will make life more difficult for the disadvantaged. Still, Gordon Fairweather, head of the federal human rights commission, "There will be an impact here," said Michael British Columbia, singling it out as a lesser place for human rights. "Added Charles Gil, who is both president of the BC Organization to Fight Racism and one of the key organizers of lawmakers in the province. "The government has trivialized human rights and sent a message to minorities saying that their rights are not a priority."

Elsewhere, however, there was a different reaction as other governments across the country carefully watched Bennett's attempts to turn statists into reality and cut the sin of the bureaucracy. The question in all politicians' minds was: Will Bennett get away with it, and at what political cost?

One week after introducing the Pub-

lic Sector Restraint Act, a bill that would make even tenured university professors subject to dismissal, Finance Minister Hugh Curtis defended his actions as a radical return to reality. The July 7 budget is based on the government's philosophical belief that government should not hamper the private sector—the chief source of job creation—and that government services should be closely tied to people's ability to pay. "This budget is really the start of a series of steps which are going to be taken in each budgetary cycle and legislative session," Curtis said, adding that the government was fulfilling a mandate received when Social Credit won re-election on May 5.

Bennett's budget, which has already been nicknamed "Socialmatic," is an economic hybrid containing, as in its authors, a peculiar combination of libertarians and authoritarian ideals. Faced with a \$2.5-per-cent increase in government spending this year and a forecast deficit of \$1.6 billion, the government increased the sales tax to seven per cent and raised hospital user fees, a move certain to bring it into conflict with the federal government.

Raising the sales tax was set as the measure that economist Michael Walker of the conservative Fraser Institute recommended to the government when he was asked to advise cabinet on how to deal with the province's economic problems last month. Walker is not pleased by the still large deficit and he hopes that it will be lower than predicted because of the government's cautious revenue estimates. At the same time, however, he is delighted that the government is reducing the number of civil servants, describing it as a precedent that will be followed by governments across the country.

At the same time, the government has taken a more interventionist role in the controversial area of medical services and education. In health matters, in addition to continuing to set fees charged by doctors, it also plans to limit the number of physicians who are practising in Vancouver, Victoria, and the Okanagan because it says those areas are overburdened with medical practitioners. At the same time, Bennett hopes that by allowing doctors to practise in parts of the province to charge higher fees, more doctors will move to those areas.

Health Minister James Nielsen has already anticipated a challenge to the act on the basis that it will restrict doctors' mobility rights, which are guaranteed under the Charter of Rights. As a result, a physician who is denied a medical services billing number in Vancouver will still be able to practise there. But his patients will have to meet the fees themselves, even though they



GFL: Increased taxes and medical costs, but little for business

may be covered by medicare.

There has been little reaction so far from B.C. doctors to the changes, but school trustees and teachers have been weak in their opposition to the government's plans to control local school budgets for the next three years. At the same time, their salaries will be frozen and the student-teacher ratio restored to the 1976 ratio of 19 to 1—moves that may result in 2,000 of the province's 26,000 full-time teachers losing their jobs by 1986. "This leaves school trustees with no more power than a parent-teacher association has in the decision-making process," complained Bill Bowes, president of the B.C. School Trustees Association. "What they have left in place [the school trustees] is an expensive method of supervision to ensure that the ministry's goals and objectives are met."

To make certain that its directives are carried out, the government has drafted a law that will make each school trustee personally liable for a fee of up to \$10,000 if a cabinet minister's edict is disobeyed. "My first reaction was that [Liberal Senator Polish Solidarity leader] was a lucky man not to be in British Columbia," said Les Trostko, the mayor of Port Coquitlam and one of many municipal officials who will also be subject to the fine.

In another contentious move, the government has also loosened up zoning

laws. Until July 7 the 28 regional districts in the province had the power to review zoning planning in their areas. These powers vanished as budget day, not long after a controversial land development scheme in the northern community of Delta had been rejected by the local regional district. Walter Davison, the MLA for Delta and the Social Credit Speaker of the House, was a key figure in the zoning changes that were made in late June. He complained that a socialist-communist conspiracy — supposedly involving Vancouver representatives of the Radical Workers Revolutionary Party — had sabotaged the development. He presented to the government what the government would do specifically about the decision. Two weeks later it did, returning zoning to municipal control and increasing the chances of non-ordinated development around Victoria and Vancouver.

Leading the masses of disaffected was NDP Leader David Barrett. This group [the Social] says it wants less government, is saying unto itself control that we have accepted in this country for years," he declared.

So far, the government has shamed off this early criticism of its new laws, encouraged by Curtis' tough stand last week. Still, as opposition spreads across the province, the ability of the Bennett administration to hold its ground will be stretched to the limit. ☐

## The cruise: all systems go

After months of skirting the issue, the Trudeau cabinet finally approved the testing of US cruise missiles in Canada last week. But, far from settling the matter, the long-awaited decision only ignited the latest phase in the national controversy over the tests. Canadian critics attacked the move, and a group of US labor unions and peace groups prepared to challenge the decisions in court. In a late-Friday news conference, which appeared timed to maximize publicity, External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen justified the tests as a contribution to NATO security which could give Canada a greater voice in arms control talks. Said MacEachen: "In making these decisions we had very much in mind our reliability as a member of the alliance, and therefore our possibilities of influencing arms reductions."

Meanwhile, Washington obtained almost exactly what it asked for June 13, when it formally requested Ottawa to permit the unarmed missiles to be launched from US Air Force B-52 bombers of the northernmost base near the Mackenzie Delta. The flight corridor, 250 km wide, runs north, parallel to the Beaufort, and turns east near Dawson Creek across Peace River country, and at the Peace Lakes air weapons testing range on the northern Alberta-Saskatchewan border. As soon as its tests would be over, last year between January and March — when there is no chance that a crash would start forest fires — the B-52s are to end with soft parachute landings onto the ice of Peace River Lake.

In an effort to head off the government, James Stark, head of the anti-nuclear Operation Dismantle, along with several labor groups, is attempting to win a Federal Court injunction against the tests on grounds that that fuel as arms runs the risk of violating the constitutional right to "life, liberty and security."

Pierre Trudeau also faces opposition in the Commons. New Democrat Pauline Jewett denounced the fact that the decision was announced while Parliament is in recess and no debate is possible. Paul Martin, one of several Liberal MPs openly unhappy with the tests, said, "I think we're supporting a weapon which could be very, very dangerous to the planet." Nonetheless, deployment is proceeding — on B-52s in the United States, and on the ground in Europe — later this year. Canada's participation, said MacEachen, is "a reflection of our solidarity with our allies."

—JOHN HAY in Ottawa

# A Liberal lesson in strategy

Suspecting late into the late-aftersnoon, John Roberts faced his press last week with summary assessment: "Where's our seat?" It's generally because there are not enough seats. The government's platform of "modestly specific" importance—the environmental charter and after a one-hour cabinet meeting at the government-owned Meech Lake lodge in the Gatineau Hills. The key word in Roberts' response was "specific"—as definitive policies were settled at the annual summer get-together. At the end of the month

held a weekend meeting on economic development as a result in the Laurentians. Ministers, including Trudeau, will restate about a third of the approximately 30 participants. The ministers will be businesspeople, labor leaders and academics, including U.S. economist John Kenneth Galbraith and Paul Sauvageau. The cabinet will hold another session on employment issues in early August and a characass of foreign affairs and defense issues in mid-August. At the end of the month



Launched: summery nonchalance

underestimated the public's desire to pursue its social safety net.

The battle over social security, however, will just one less that provinces to set Ottawa on a collision course with the provinces. Already, federal-provincial antagonism has begun to surface. It began two weeks ago when the federal government clashed with Quebec and Newfoundland. Federal strategists say that Ottawa's record on labour law may be the finding and offshore oil disputes with Newfoundland because Premier Brian Peckford refused to compromise. According to an cabinet minister, "he simply does not know how to negotiate." The close tieing of the two chapters with Newfoundland was controversial, since discussions on both issues had been streaming for months. When Ottawa said it would take over management of the Quebec saltwater fishing industry by next spring, it was following the recommendations of the Kirby report on the Atlantic fishery, but also attacking its least favorite provincial government. Despite these quarrels, Liberal strategists insist that they are not fighting for the sake of fighting but to preserve what Trudeau is a prime example. Of course, a side benefit is that a federal-provincial dispute over medicare guarantees cross-country publicity. It will also mean taking a key plank from the wobbly New Democratic Party's platform. Aware of these undeniable benefits, the Liberals are not likely to be conciliatory. This fall Health Minister Marcia Biggs will introduce a Canada health act that will penalize provinces financially—perhaps by withholding a dollar of federal funds for every dollar of extra billing or user fees.

On the economic front, the ministers first congratulated themselves on their post-performance—they focused on the need for more job creation. Employment Minister Lloyd Axworthy and Trade Minister Edward Lurey presented a joint paper that called for job creation targeted to specific sectors and focused on special groups such as younger people. Ministers were bitter about Brian Mulroney's view to campaign on the issue of jobs. Several pointed out that the Tory leader provided over last year's closing of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada's operations in Schefferville, Que., and they promised to minimize the federal cost of that shutdown at every opportunity. "Canada is preoccupied with the issue of job creation," insisted a senior minister. Although so far the government's targets have been as upbeat as pig rashes, the real crunch is yet to come. That will happen in the fall, when the soft talk will be framed up into hard policies and the real debate will begin.

The policymaking sessions will continue throughout the summer. This week Lalonde and Economic Development Minister Donald Johnston will

# The nomination of a leader

Progressive Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney finally came out of the political back rooms last week and moved to front and centre stage in his first campaign for political office. Mulroney, Tory leader for a month, moved one step closer to his first parliamentary seat when he was nominated—unopposed—for the Aug. 29 federal by-election in Central Nova, a sprawling, seasonally depressed riding of 54,000 residents in northeastern Nova Scotia. The nomination meeting was more like a coronation, before 1,000 jubilant supporters who packed into the Truro Civic Centre, and Mulroney was clearly the centerpiece in a showpiece ceremony of party

polis show local voters tend to favor the man over the party.

In fact, it's a review poll that out across the riding's heavily industrialized core and more diverse fishing, forestry and farming regions. Toronto pollster Con-Cor found that 43 per cent of the people intending to vote Tory would switch to Liberal if MacKay were elected to that party. Mulroney is trying to make the most of that impressive popularity by being seen everywhere with MacKay. He also appointed Mackay, a New Glasgow lawyer, to be his senior adviser, thus quipped, "This constituency will get two [sets] for the price of one."

That confidence is well founded, and



Mulroney out of the back rooms and onto the centre stage of a campaign

unity, complete with banners and posters. Adding to the heady atmosphere, 15 MPs from six provinces, 20 provincial MPs and former party leader Robert Stanfield turned out for the occasion. And even the recently ousted leader Jim Clark declared that he will campaign for Mulroney in the riding. Mulroney confidently launched his half-hour speech with a jest. "It's nice to be back in my home town of Truro," he said in a direct reference to the fact that he had parachuted into the soft Tory riding.

In stark contrast to the outpourings of the Tory team appt on Tuesday night, the Liberal nomination meeting the night before attracted a low-key audience of 700. The only national figure who attended were the ubiquitous party president, Iona Campagnoli, and former party president Senator Alasdair Graham. Sinclair said that he will try to cast as cold a net as possible against "this man from Quebec" who has "no knowledge of local issues." But Sinclair has promised there will be no mud-slinging and that the main issue will be policies, particularly in the industrial areas in which the unemployment rate has been running as high as 60 per cent.

The NDP also nominated a candidate with little prospect of success. Rev. Ray MacLennan, a 61-year-old retired United Church deacon, entered the fray with the general view that "win or lose, we never lose if one speaks to the truth." In his case the losses will be the full sort since the gradual decline in medical care—particularly cutbacks in hospital services and the threatened introduction of user fees, amalgamations and the dangers of nuclear proliferation. "These are all life and death decisions," he declared.

For his part, Mulroney acknowledged local pressure by stressing that he too would focus on "jobs, jobs and jobs." Still, he will attempt to appeal to a certain constituency as well, in preparation for the next general election. In his speech Mulroney quickly attacked Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau ("there's a 'but'") and the "divisive and unimportant" Liberals whom he promised to drive from office. But the new leader has yet to emanate any specific positions that he will take into the national campaign. However, his federal election campaign team is taking shape. Mulroney recently asked party stalwart Frank MacDonald, a senior adviser in Clark's office, to head a transition committee that would plan the re-takeover of power if the party wins the next federal election, due within 18 months. Because Mulroney has already promised that he will fight the election from a seat in his home province of Quebec, the 58,000 eligible voters in Central Nova know that there will not be the home riding of the next prime minister.

Brian Mulroney is not a stranger to the area. The new leader, who rented a home near New Glasgow last week, lived on Nova Scotia 25 years ago, as a student at Dalhousie's Dalhousie University and before that at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, as an adjacent federal riding. Recently, while he was president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, the native of Baie Comeau, Que., ran a spectacularly successful fund-raising campaign for St. P.X., raising \$4 million since the \$3 million target. At St. X, Mulroney, the Liberal candidate, met Mulroney, who still wears his black-and-gold shirt. "A ring from that seat," said Mulroney.

Whatever the outcome, Canadians for the first time will get a forecast of the next-waiting Mulroney as he sets out to prove the claim that he made at the Ottawa convention—that he will turn his political craft on his fellow citizens.

MICHAEL CLARKSON in Halifax

## A river's deadly current

At 6:00 a.m. on July 5, "aump" began to quietly overflow from a storage tank at the E.H. Eddy Forest Products Ltd. plant in Rensselaer, 75 km northwest of Sudbury, Ont. No one noticed. Then, the tide turned to a deluge. Twenty minutes later, 47,000 gallons of a sodium or potassium salt, a mild hydrosol often used to make household detergents, had spilled, and four days later the soggy inundation had travelled 55 km to the mouth of the

Spanish River and spilled over six square miles of Lake Huron. The toxic result, an estimated 100,000 fish were killed (many of them game fish such as pickerel, perch and muskellunge), disrupting tourist fishing at the peak of the season.

Last week, as company employees in life jackets worked to clean up the rotting fish, officers of Ontario's environment and natural resources department had eight charges against E.H.

Eddy and two company officials under the federal Fisheries Act (for the deliberate spill) and for a massive spill of waste water that occurred about the same time. But even these charges did little to cool the anger of commercial fishermen and tourist operators who have threatened to sue the company to reclaim damages. The area usually attracts about 1,800 sportspersons each summer. But with thousands of dead fish floating in the river last week, campers from as far away as Florida decided to vacation elsewhere. Said Clifford Lang, an 84-year-old commercial fisherman from Spanish, the 1,500-person town at the mouth of the river: "It's the worst fish kill I have ever seen."

Fishermen in the area have suffered other setbacks since a pulp and paper mill began to operate in 1986. According to James Vance, whose family's operations include commercial fishing, a marina, a motel and the largest tourist camp in the Spanish area, as recently as 15 years ago "nothing lived in the water at all." Since then, residents agree, E.H. Eddy has been making efforts to comply with provincial controls. Now the 40,000-member Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters has demanded that the company assume responsibility and pay for the cleanup to rehabilitation of the Spanish River. "We still have power with a fish or two, yet here is a big fish killing thousands," said Douglas Ogston, the federation's past president. "That business has to stop." And last week, Ian Cairns, co-president of Eddy's Canadian division, agreed to look into responsibilities. The mill's sensible attitude was in part a response to the growing outrage of non-residents who are financially dependent on the tourist industry. Led by Vance and Barry Dell, president of the North Shore Anglers' and Hunters' Association, groups of angry citizens displayed truckloads of rotting fish at the mill's gates. "We wanted the staff to take a look and take a whiff," said Vance. "We wanted people to know what happened this time [last August a similar fish kill went almost unreported] so that maybe it won't ever happen again."

Ironically, E.H. Eddy intended to install a treatment unit in the plant next month. "That unit should reduce the current pollution load going into the river by 65 to 80 per cent," said John Weiss, a regional manager of pollution abatement with the province. "This kind of spill will probably not happen here again." That development, however welcome, did little to placate the tourist operators, anglers and commercial fishermen who live along the Spanish River. "I don't think anybody will be able to measure the damage that has been done this last time," said James Vance, "not even 10 years from now."

—ROBERT BILLION in Toronto



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Hooks (left); Registering black voters in the South; unexpressed By Reagan's stalled efforts to refine the fairness issue

## WORLD

# Reagan and the black vote

By Michael Posner

**A**t best, President Ronald Reagan's policies on black issues and civil rights are often considered laissez-faire, at worst, they are characterized as destructive of Black Americans' hard-won achievements. But last week, while the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) assailed the administration in New Orleans, the president moved on two fronts to charm his critics. First, the Justice department filed suit against Alabama, charging the state with maintaining separate black and white public origins. Then, Reagan sent to Congress a proposal "to put real teeth" into the Fair Housing Act. If adopted, the bill would allow Attorney General William French Smith to combat discriminatory housing practices with fines of up to \$50,000.

As with other contentious issues—especially education, arms control and national security—the president's civil rights initiatives are aimed less at winning converts than at neutralizing the opposition. With the U.S. economy picking up steam, Reagan's most vulnerable point may be his perceived lack

of fairness to blacks, Hispanics and women. If he announces his bid for re-election in the fall, as is widely expected, Reagan will doubtless mount a concerted campaign to defuse the fairness issue.

For the moment, it is clear that the U.S. black leadership is not being swayed. Addressing the NAACP's 44th annual convention last week, Executive Director Benjamin Hooks warned that black voters would unite against Reagan unless his policies changed. And that threat is more meaningful this year, because the organization, along with Rev. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, is seeking to add millions of new black voters to voting rolls.

Next month, following the Underground Railroad trial set by southern slaves more than a century ago in their quest for freedom, the NAACP will open a 378-day march from Kentucky to Washington. By the fall of 1984 the group hopes to register almost two million new black voters in 30 of the nation's states. Said Joseph Medeiros, the association's director of voter education: "Northern voter apathy is far greater than southern voter apathy."

But Madison ridiculed the idea of black

announcing their own presidential candidate—a plan favored by other black leaders. "It's the bigger boat that's been pulled in black folks that I can think of," he said. "The only reason it had received so much attention, he added, "is because you have probably six of the dullest, most unattractive white candidates that the Democratic party has ever run for president."

Predictably, the New Orleans collective was not impressed by last week's Reagan administration civil rights efforts. The desegregation suit against Alabama, said NAACP general counsel Thomas Atkins, is neither generous nor voluntary. The courts had already ordered the state to desegregate its system of public colleges. When the deadline for compliance passed, the justice department was obliged to sue Reagan's fair housing legislation, Atkins claimed, was merely a response to the NAACP's suit against the department of housing and urban development (HUD). Defending the administration, Vice President George Bush told the convention that critics of Reagan's policies were "dead wrong." Bush was given credit for his courage, but his speech was frequently interrupted by boos. Whether or not the president can significantly improve his rating remains a doubtful prospect. The real question, however, is whether Reagan's efforts to manage black voters will be convincing enough to keep them from massive protest at the polls.

A coalition of 225 civil rights groups



already had attacked the president's fair housing proposal as inadequate. Under current law, HUD institutes cases of alleged housing discrimination, but the justiciable decisions can go to court only when a pattern of bias has been shown. The president's proposal would permit HUD to refer unresolved complaints to the justice department with recommendations for a financial penalty or a court injunction. But the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights contends that the administration's plan would lead to "costly, lengthy and inefficient" lawsuits that would sputter the courts. The conference has backed pending congressional bills opposed by the justice department that would create a panel of administrative law judges to hear complaints and order solutions.

Another presidential initiative that provided controversy last week was Reagan's choice of Illinois Democrat to fill vacancies on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The vacancies were created when Reagan fired commissioners who did not share his views on court-ordered busing and racial quotas in job selection. The chairman, more than the credentials of the new appointee, came under fire at confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee. The NAACP and 129 other national organizations opposed the president's slate. But the group that spearheaded the drive for black civil rights in the 1960s is itself increasingly under attack. A power struggle between Hooks and board of directors chairman Margaret Bush Wilson has caused national embarrassment. More critically, the NAACP's core membership is aging and disengaged since it is launching an emergency \$4-million drive for funds.

In New Orleans, meanwhile, the NAACP demanded five would-be Democratic candidates for president and the current Oval Office incumbent. Four Democrats received "Bo" for their record on civil rights: former vice-president Walter Mondale and Senators John Glenn, Alan Cranston and Gary Hart. Another contender, Senator Edward Higginson, drew an "F"—the same grade given to Reagan, who drew only eight per cent of the black vote in 1980. Defending the administration, Vice President George Bush told the convention that critics of Reagan's policies were "dead wrong." Bush was given credit for his courage, but his speech was frequently interrupted by boos. Whether or not the president can significantly improve his rating remains a doubtful prospect. The real question, however, is whether Reagan's efforts to manage black voters will be convincing enough to keep them from massive protest at the polls.

## POLAND

# An exercise in symbolism

In the run-up to Pope John Paul II's June visit, Poland's military government indicated that martial law might be lifted on July 22, the country's national holiday, if the citizens behaved themselves. Last week, whether as a reward for good conduct during the papal tour or as a result of a "surprise deal" with the Pope, the authorities announced plans to lift martial law. In all likelihood, the Polish parliament (Sejm) will meet this week to announce a date for a formal end to army rule and an amnesty for several hundred dissidents jailed for martial law offenses. The timing of the announcement—July 22 marks the liberation of part of eastern Poland from German occupation in 1944—was clearly designed to achieve symbolic impact. But the practical effects may also be more symbolic than real.

In a special session last week, the Sejm gave a first reading to four amendments to the constitution giving a civilian government wider powers—including the right to declare a state of emergency and retain censorship—to deal with internal unrest. Parliamentarians sources said that since the Sejm had approved the provisions at a two-day session starting July 20, head of state Henryk Jablonski would announce the lifting of martial law. The Sejm met amid other signs of an imminent decision. The all-powerful Polish Communist Party's Politburo endorsed the lifting of the remaining restrictions imposed on Dec. 13, 1981. (Some restraints were eased last December.) The U.S. state department informed Warsaw that military rule was in its last days, indicated that Wladyslaw Gomulka's eight years in office imposed in opposition to martial law if the Polish authorities released a significant number of political prisoners.

Whether martial law is repealed or not, Gen. Wladyslaw Jaruzelski's "military council of national salvation" will already have lasted three months longer than the 16-month "Solidarity era," which brought an unprecedented relaxation of Communist rule. Jaruzelski's attempt to reverse that process has cost the lives of at least 200 people, according to estimates of those killed in street clashes with security forces. Roughly 11,000 supporters of the Solidarity trade unions have been arrested at one time or another, and 4,000 people have been jailed



Jaruzelski: martial law's lifting will have little effect

However, any amnesty is unlikely to apply to the 12 leading activists who face charges of plotting to overthrow the state. Western observers in Warsaw said the regime might defer a decision as when to bring them to trial in order to keep their followers from demonstrating. But that would be the heart of official generosity. The status of jailed activists serves as symbolic of the nation as a whole. Even without martial law, the Polish people will still be the hostages of their rulers.

—PETER LEWIN in Warsaw



Santiago students clash with police: a severe setback for military authorities

## CHILE

### A rising tide of defiance

In the Chilean capital of Santiago, residents of middle-class suburbs banged empty newspapers in a determined gesture of defiance, and security forces used armored cars to break up barricades of burning tires in working-class areas. In the port city of Valparaiso, rioting students threw furniture from windows in the university. Altogether, at least two people were killed and the authorities arrested more than 700 others. All of the victims had been involved in a national day of protest aimed at helping defend the military regime of Gen. Augusto Pinochet, who overthrew the Socialist government of Salvador Allende in 1973.

Last week's outbreaks were a severe setback to the authorities, who had imposed a curfew to prevent a repetition of demonstrations on two earlier days of protest—May 11 and June 14—that left six people dead and resulted in 2,000 arrests. The protest days were part of a campaign that included a failed attempt at a general strike last month. At that time the junta imposed strict censorship on the media, which were forbidden to refer to last week's protests as well.

That meant that plans for the demonstrations had to be circulated largely by word of mouth and other clandestine means. Meanwhile, the junta continued its attempts to divide its opponents, splitting trade unions and students led by the Chilean National Committee from small businesses and professionals.

That division was exposed by the failure of the June 23 strike. Chile's copper miners' union, which led labor's hard-nosed protest, was forced to back down after JAMES MICHENER in Toronto, with Mary Helen Spivack in Santiago

the call for a total restoration of democracy, was a conflict with its strike partners, a confederation of transport truck owners. The miners accepted an offer from the military authorities to enter into private negotiations, and they scaled down their demands to include only a power-sharing agreement between civilians and the armed forces. Other measures taken by the regime have been more direct. Only three days before last week's day of protest, Pinochet came to an international forum by joining Gorbachev. The president of the banned Marxist Christian Democratic Party and a former foreign minister, along with two other leading politicians, then, after protests from several countries, as protests were ordered the three political release.

The appeal court decision may temporarily ease opposition pressure on the government, which has also moved to appease the copper miners. It recently released miners' union leaders held after June's May Day protest, and it will consider releasing 800 miners who were detained for protesting against the curfew. Still, the union's 22-year-old president, Radhika Seguel, remains in jail and he is a widely popular figure. Not only that, but, as last week's day of protest indicated, middle-class Chileans are increasingly disenchanted.

Additional days of protest are planned and, if his opponents eventually manage to seize power, Pinochet may indeed be forced from power.

## THE UNITED STATES

### Renewing the war of nerves

**T**he office on Capitol Hill was what is known in Washington as a "honey pot." President Ronald Reagan set it up last week with the intention of persuading senators opposed to his proposal to spend \$130 million on a reserve gas production program. Vice-President George Bush and Louis Fitch, a Washington representative at the nuclear arms reduction talks in Geneva, assured visiting senators that the White House would recompense their support during future debates. As well, Fitch warned that the Soviets will never agree to a total ban on chemical warfare unless the United States shows its determination to produce a new generation of chemical weapons. The president's play worked by the narrowest of margins. With the Republican-controlled Senate tied 49 to 49, Bush cast a rare vote in his role as Senate president to secure approval of the program.

The issue of nerve gas production has been largely overshadowed by the debate on nuclear weapons. But the United States has stockpiles of more than 7,000 tons of chemical weapons. The stockpiles were built up until 1980, when former president Richard Nixon ordered output halted while the United States negotiated a treaty banning chemical weapons with the Soviet Union. But the talks have produced no results, and the Reagan administration claims that the Soviets have produced huge quantities of such chemical weapons. Opposition to U.S. research of production has been fierce. Some statements claim that the "yellow rain" reported by inhabitants of Laos and Kampuchea may be nothing more than pollen and sacrament dropped by bees. The General Accounting Office, which monitors U.S. government spending, also reported this year that "little is known about the size and nature of Soviet chemical weapons." It added that Pentagon claims that the United States is falling behind in the chemical weapons field may be "seriously flawed."

The Democrat-controlled House of Representatives endorsed that view last month, voting 216 to 206 to scuttle the program. But despite the defection of 17 Republican senators last week, the program survived in the Senate. It will now go before a joint House-Senate conference, where a compromise is expected to give Reagan the authority to spend the money he wants. If so, the president's honey pot will prove to have been a sweet investment.

—WILLIAM LOWTHER  
in Washington



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Tending the wounded at Paris' Orly Airport: the latest episode in a long blood feud

FRANCE

## Terror in an airport lineup

The scene at Paris' Orly Airport was one of happy summer holiday chaos. As the first call came for Turkish Airlines flight 988 to Istanbul, a crowd of Turkish migrant workers with their families barged the check-in counter, clutching their bulging suitcases. Then chaos turned to tragedy. At the head of the jostling lineup, a bomb concealed in a salas exploded, sending an orange fireball racing through the waiting passengers. Three were killed instantly and three others died within hours. Of the 60 injured, a further six were buried as badly that doctors gave them little chance of survival. And a fourth died of his injuries. "It was a pure massacre," said a spokesman. "People were terrified. I have never seen so much blood in my life."

Bitter hostility for the bombing was quickly clamed by the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), a shadowy anti-Turkish movement that has carried out a wave of terrorist outrages in recent years. Orly 21 hours earlier, in an attack that closely resembled last year's murder of Turkey's military attaché in Ottawa, Adile Arikli, an ASALA gunman had struck in Brussels. The victim there was a 38-year-old Turkish diplomat, shot dead as he stepped into his car in a residential street of the Belgian capital. Not only that, but in Los Angeles last week Armenian nationalists Vietor Galstyan was killed by a bomb that exploded in his car. Police said that the murder had political overtones, and the PRC announced the formation of an anti-Turkish squad for next year's Olympics in

the city. As PRC spokesman said that the prevention of an Armenian terrorist strike was a high priority.

The carnage at Orly was the latest attack in the Armenian militants' campaign to wreak revenge on Turkey for the massacre of more than one million fellow countrymen in 1915 and to seize an Armenian homeland in eastern Turkey. Nearly 40 people—mostly Turkish diplomats—have been murdered since 1978. Turkish diplomats said that the bombing might have been timed to coincide with the July 24 anniversary of the Treaty of Lausanne, which in 1923 returned a fiefdom to.grant Armenians a republic within Armenia following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire.

French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy promised that the government would do all it could to arrest those responsible for the "act of terrorism." One theory was that the bomb was triggered by a "superstitious" explosive device, referred to as booby cylinder, that had exploded prematurely, killing its carrier, a young man in jeans with no identification. Police thought that the bomber might have intended it to explode over the aircraft had detonated with a scheduled 107 passengers.

But that was little comfort to the relatives of the dead and injured or to ranking security officials in Europe and North America. With the anniversary of the Armenians' diabolical massacre still days away, the ASALA campaign could become even more savage.

—FERRY LEEWEN in Brussels, with David Kline in San Francisco

HONG KONG

## Resolving an ownership issue

**W**hen British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher met China's dissident vice-chairman, Deng Xiaoping, to discuss the political and economic future of Hong Kong last September, neither leader seemed prepared to compromise. During dry exchanges in Peking's Great Hall of the People, Deng declared that China intends to regain sovereignty over the British colony in 1997, when the lease to most of the colony expires. If an agreement on the turnover was not reached by the end of 1984, Deng threatened, China would impose its own solution. For her part, Thatcher was equally unyielding. She conceded Peking's claim to Hong Kong's New Territories, leased from China in 1898. But she insisted that the remainder of the colony, including Hong Kong Island and Kowloon peninsula, had been ceded to Britain indefinitely. As talks in Hong Kong's future resumed in Peking last week, however, there were signs that both sides have adopted a more conciliatory approach.

Last month Thatcher wrote to Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, emphasizing that Britain would discuss Peking's view of the sovereignty issue. That move apparently broke the deadlock, and Hong Kong's government, led by Edward Youde, immediately announced that the two countries had reached "a better understanding on each other's positions." That ingenuity was strengthened after last week's talks. A joint statement said that the two sides had held "constructive talks" and would meet again in July 25.

At the same time, Chinese leaders have been providing subtle hints about their current view of the colony's future. Peking apparently wants Hong Kong to be transformed into a special administrative region run by its 5 mil-

lion inhabitants. Hong Kong would retain its capitalist system, including its currency, law and order to be administered under the British legal code. There has not been a name of a single period of transition, stretching beyond the 1997 deadline.

The two sides are under pressure to produce a settlement soon. Since Thatcher's meeting with Deng, the volatile Hong Kong stock markets have fluctuated wildly. The local dollar has lost 16 per cent of its value, while as much as \$5 billion (U.S.) has been transferred abroad or into foreign currency accounts. The situation improved marginally in advance of the new round of negotiations. But the confidence of the colony's entrepreneurs and financiers had been shaken severely. Most of them would be willing to accept a transfer of sovereignty to Peking. But in return they want London to continue to administer Hong Kong under the present system of government. Many are convinced Communist officials would make inept administrators. Says shopping executive Frank Chau, who fled China 34 years ago when Mao Tse-tung's victorious army converged on Shanghai: "We are quite prepared to gather up our staff and set out again."

Indeed, there has already been a surge of interest in emigration to the West. Some Western economists will argue that Japan is spending too much on defense, while other programs are being slashed, and the reverse will likely disappear. Washington, which wants Tokyo to play a much larger part in its own defense, Macmillan's Senior Contributing Editor Peter C. Newman recently returned from Tokyo and found this amount of the ongoing debate.

The Japanese cabinet last week agreed to increase defense spending by 6.5 per cent next year; the largest hike since the Second World War. But the decision is likely to prove unpopular on non-militaristic sections of the country's reform-minded elite, who argue that Japan is spending too much on defense, while other programs are being slashed, and the reverse will likely disappear. Washington, which wants Tokyo to play a much larger part in its own defense, Macmillan's Senior Contributing Editor Peter C. Newman recently returned from Tokyo and found this amount of the ongoing debate.

**T**he headquarters of Japan's Self Defense Agency—the world's eighth most powerful military machine—is based in a sprawling building in Tokyo's Roppongi district. Among the chic boutiques, it looks unusual, an impression heightened by the appearance and bearing of its occupants: the visitor feels he has stumbled into a convention of small-town executives.

Appointments are deceptive. But there is nothing accidental about the setting. The Self Defense Agency's planned expansion, and even its existence, is highly controversial. Indeed, it is probably the most non-defensive military arm in the free world.

After a great deal of arm-twisting, I was allowed the rare privilege of an appointment with Gen. Sosuke Maru, chairman of the Joint Staff Council and the highest-ranking Japanese currently



Japan's Self Defense Force on parade: the 'wise hedgehog' will 'roll like a lion'

JAPAN

## The rough road to rearmament

The Japanese cabinet last week agreed to increase defense spending by 6.5 per cent next year; the largest hike since the Second World War. But the decision is likely to prove unpopular on non-militaristic sections of the country's reform-minded elite, who argue that Japan is spending too much on defense, while other programs are being slashed, and the reverse will likely disappear. Washington, which wants Tokyo to play a much larger part in its own defense, Macmillan's Senior Contributing Editor Peter C. Newman recently returned from Tokyo and found this amount of the ongoing debate.

The reason for his reticence (an honorable Japanese trait) is that how far and how fast Japan should increase its military might is one of the hottest issues in Asia. The debate will get even fiercer as Prime Minister Yasushi Nakasone carries out his stated intention of "creating an army, navy and air force which can defend our country on our own."

Immediately after their Second World War defeat, the Japanese accepted a condition which forever "forbade the use of force as a means of settling international disputes." Nearly four decades later, without any change in that document, the islands have more than a quarter of a million men and women under arms and a five-year plan to add 10,000 tanks, 200 jet fighters and 50 warships to the arsenal. By 1986, Japan will rank third behind the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France in its military capabilities. And if pressure from Washington increases

will produce an acceptable agreement. But until one emerges, they are continuing to hedge their bets—and their multibillion-dollar investments.

—BRIAN JEFFRIES in Hong Kong

In funding even greater defense expansion at NATO levels, Japan would very quickly reach third place, becoming another (though not nuclear) military superpower.

Secondly, the defense debate in Japan was comparatively low-key. Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki largely resisted U.S. demands that Japan should accept a bigger share of the burden of keeping the Soviets at bay. Ikuo Matsuyama, Suzuki's adviser, wanted to be "a wise hedgehog," not "a war豪."

The atmosphere changed when Suzuki was succeeded by Nakasone last November. Nakasone presented on his first visit to Washington to make Japan "an unbreakable aircraft carrier" against Soviet air power in the Far East and to blockade the Soviet Pacific fleet in its own ports. Earlier this year, Nakasone visited the capitals of six Asian neighbors, trying to reassure them that his military intentions were strictly defensive in nature. The tour was a success, but Philippine strongman President Ferdinand Marcos prodded the source of Asia's continuing caution in dealing with Japan. "The unspoken feeling of most countries in Southeast Asia," Marcos said, "has always been that what Japan failed to get during the war, she has succeeded in snatching by economic conditions."

Nakasone has openly allied himself with Japan's military traditions. He is the first prime minister since the war to visit in his official capacity the Yasukuni Shrine, where the country's military dead are interred. He has even dispatched his Foreign minister, Shiroto Abe, to hold strategic talks at NATO headquarters in Brussels, and he caused an uproar at home by claiming Japan with NATO policies at the Wiltonseberg summit in May. "We have become conscious that we need a global rather than regional approach to dealing with the Soviet Union," declared foreign ministry expert Yoshio Kato.

It is not clear to what extent Nakasone is following his own inclinations in giving Japan a higher military profile. Washington has lobbied strongly for such a policy ever since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. But earlier, the U.S. defeat in Vietnam and the withdrawal of some U.S. ground forces from South Korea prompted the Japanese themselves to reassess Washington's dependency as an Asian ally.

The Americans still maintain an impressive armada in the Pacific (220 ships and 1,600 aircraft), but the balance of power has been changing. At the start of the 1970s the United States and the Soviet Union each had fleets of a million tons in each area. Now, the Americans have only 600,000 tons and the Soviets

have a 1.5-million ton fleet.

The defense of their sea lanes is a real concern to the Japanese. All of their oil and most of their raw materials are imported. So huge is their maritime trade that it employs one-fifth of the world's merchant shipping. Without freedom of the seas, the Japanese economy would grind to a halt within a month.

Japanese public opinion has been hardened on the issue. In a recent poll, 71 per cent of respondents approved of the Self Defense Force's assistance, though only six per cent declared their willingness to join it. U.S. forces were invited by a foreign country. That attitude is in sharp contrast to the one which existed a few years ago, when there was so much public resistance to Japan's new military forces that the children of its members were ostracized at school and its officers did not dare wear uniforms outside their barracks.

The main reason for the change is a series of threatening actions from the Kremlin. Moscow has duly refused to return the northern Japanese islands it occupied in 1945, and it has beefed up its forces of 80,000 missiles pointed at Asia. On its last coast, and soon to be doubled, the Soviets are building a second Siberian railway to expand their country's military capability eastward, and the Japanese defense experts estimate that 125 Soviet submarines

are now stationed in Vladivostok.

These and other less overt moves have had the effect of making Japanese opinion to the defense budget, even by left-wingers. Even the Japan Socialist Party, which officially advocates "militarized neutrality," maintains that Japan has a right to defend itself. The speed with which Japanese troops will depend on when Nakasone decides to break the ban on forming military spending to one per cent of the country's GNP, the softening act by the Japanese Diet in 1976. The 1983 defense budget of \$4 billion (U.S.) takes the total to 6.95 per cent—an increase of 6.5 per cent from 1982. The budget figures are not precise because they leave out a lot of indirect military spending. Among other things, the Japanese government contributes an annual \$1 billion to provide free bases and housing for 46,000 U.S. troops stationed on the islands. Japan's army stands at 180,000 men and 800 tanks. Its navy of 43,000 men and 48 destroyers and its air force of 45,000 men and 350 combat planes. All three forces are being expanded, at a cost of \$70 billion, by 1987.

Japan's defense production has grown twice as fast as manufacturing in general over the past five years, with procurement of new military hardware climbing at 15 per cent a year. Most of that growth takes place under the au-



Nakasone: allied with military traditions

brella of a recent agreement with Washington, which provides for the sharing of military technology. The Mitsubishi factories that turned out 37,500 Zero fighters and bombers during the last war now make the highly-cited McDonnell Douglas F/A-18 fighters. One Japanese invention is the fast shore-to-shore missile, designed to be fired from trucks hidden behind trees; the projectiles can sink warships over as unusually long range and are specially programmed to skip over their protective kills.

Japanese companies now run the Pacific and have held exercises with Canadian warships. In at least one case, their leaders exchanged not only expertise but epithets. During a recent visit to Esquimalt, B.C., Rear Admiral Gerald Edwards, in charge of Canada's West Coast maritime operations, went fishing with Rear Admiral Genji Tanabe, commander of the Japanese squadron. They caught nothing, but, to make the winter feel better, the Canadian boat presented him with a huge frozen salmon. Then, to prevent any loss of face, Edwards invited Tanabe in front of his officers as a great Eskimo. The next day the Japanese admiral was duly appreciative, but he admitted to Edwards that his men had expressed curiosity over how such a stiff fish could swim even in Canada's cold waters. ☐

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**P**roducer David Bassikind, 62, is seldom at a loss for words. But since he discovered that his wife of 30 years, Joyce Davidson, is suffering from cruel and inhuman treatment, he has had nothing to say—at least not publicly. The Saskatchewan-born Joyce Davidson, who has been on TV's *Judge Davidson* Show since 1974, was recently slightly more forthcoming. "It's all too painful and personal. I will talk about what my period of marriage was like." Three years ago the pair were honored as an ideal couple when they visited Toronto's annual film festival to promote a Bassikind-backed film, *Leaving Las Vegas*. Bassikind and then that he "loved the success of his marriage to his 'abhorrent' tombstones" for leveraging. But he also confessed that he neglected Davidson. Ironically, he predicted that "the 1980s are going to be a time of rising female expectations. You will have to please her or she will be gone." To compensate for unfulfilled expectations, Davidson is using Bassikind for \$5,127 a week, exclusive occupancy of their Park Avenue apartment, and \$80,000 in interior designer fees.

**C**ountry and western singer Johnnie Cash, 68, may soon be better known in Japan as a movie star. The versatile American performer was in British Columbia recently, playing the part of a Canadian folk trader in a Japanese film production, *Karen*. (Adrift at Sea) Cash, dark hair colored white, plays John McLachlin, the Hudson's Bay Co.

Cash finding that old-time religion



Davidson and Bassikind. Abhorrent leveraging or cruel and inhuman treatment?

trader who in the 1880s sought three emasculated Japanese from Wan Deut Islands and instructed them to revere Christianity. The site of the trading post is Port Langley National Historic Park, near Vancouver.

The \$2-million project, based on a popular Japanese novel, was financed by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, and Graham himself recruited the Nashville singer for the role. Cash agreed to take the part because he liked the film's strong Christian message. "I am a professed Christian and I hope that the spirit, joy and peace of my religion is reflected in my life and in my work."



Trudeau watching bolts?

**T**he word around Ottawa this month is that Margaret Trudeau will be married in the fall, this time to Ottawa realtor Fred Kemper, 54, a good-time bachelor. Friends say that Maggie—finally separated from Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau four years in November—plans to end her controversial first marriage. She has long since abandoned jet-set affairs with the likes of film star Ryan O'Neal for someone she describes as having his "feet on the ground." Arguably more than any other, Trudeau is considered a quiet wedding. And rumors of pending nuptials have further fueled speculation that Trudeau's referendum is imminent. There is talk in television circles that Margaret is considering leaving her Ottawa job as editor of the CRTC daytime talkshow *Morning Magazine*,

for a similar position three days a week in Montreal—close enough to visit Jeanne, Sandy and Michael when their father moves into his Westmount mansion. GMH Executive Producer John Fierley says that he visits Margaret on air next month but he acknowledges, "It's premature to say whether she will be back." And Margaret is not talking. "It's none of your business," she said.

**A** Canadian diplomat Ken Taylor tells it, he was riding in an elevator with a stranger who every few seconds said him with a long, penetrating stare. Finally, as the ride ended, the stranger turned to Taylor and said: "I know who you are. You're *Ginger Pitcairn*!" That, Taylor told a National Press Club audience in Washington last week, is one of the perks of celebrity—being mistaken for the solo who portrayed him in *Rogue from Asia*. The Canadian drama originated here in 1980. Taylor and his Canadian Embassy colleagues had had U.S. diplomats for 80 days and helped them flee the country. Taylor, a native of Calgary, sheltered two Americans in his home. New Canada's consul-general in New York, 85-year-old Taylor is frequently asked to party his instant status as political commodity by touring for Parliament. He responded: "I have no current plans to leave public office." That response may also reflect his realization that fame is fleeting: The Press Club was hard-pressed to attract 80 guests, half its capacity.

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Ostry, van Lennep: "I had been put on this big international stage, and I was a bit of a未知 situation."

## BUSINESS

# Ottawa preserves the Ostry mystery

By Marc McDonald

For a forecaster charged with charting the future of the Western world's economies, the situation could hardly have been more embarrassing. Predicting ever-bad final press conference as chief economist for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris last week, Sylvia Ostry was characteristically frank in every question but one: the mystery in which she has been forced to wrap her own future. "It's not that I refuse to answer," she said ruefully. "It's that I can't." The announcement has come from the government? But Ottawa sources told Maclean's that the announcement is unlikely to be made before the end of the year, when Ostry is expected to be named deputy minister of international trade, replacing Robert Johnson, as part of the continuing shuffle of chairs in the external affairs department.

If Ostry's future is a mystery, so too is her past. She is one of the key pieces of the international economy puzzle—the secret surrounding her past and more than two years onward—gives cause for the government of Ostry's old friend, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Her fans and critics alike were pained that, while she will return to Canada on Aug. 1, her new duties were not decided

in time for the top civil service shuffle earlier this month. The delay, which could leave Ostry in limbo for as long as five months—possibly forced by a sublet at the University of Toronto on full deputy minister's pay—threatens to make her homecoming as controversial as her departure.

Hindspiked by OECD Secretary-General Karel van Lennep to head the key economics and statistics department of the 24-member organisation, she left the chairmanship of the Economics

Ostry leaves her \$15,000-a-year winterset at the OECD, the West's main co-ordinator of economic policy, on the most optimistic note of her term. In her latest 18-month projection, last week she predicted that the current recession will pass through the end of 1984—in most robust form in the United States, were freely in Europe. "But it would be folly to believe that entry of the problems left behind would be solved by a recovery," she warned. High US interest rates and a decline in investment outside the United States could ruin the general rebound. And if North American unemployment is expected to drop slightly, Europe's jobless rate is forecast to rise to 19.5 million by the end of next year, or nearly 1.5 per cent of the work force in Canada, says Ostry. "There's been a remarkable and belated improvement in inflation but the longer-term questions are still out there. There is a massive debt problem. And the nation will still have very high unemployment."

This outlook is nevertheless sunnier than the initial forecast Ostry provided over when she landed in Paris, along with fellow economist and now colleague François Fréchet and taking up a "telling work load." Faced with playing curmudgeon of the worst recession in postwar economic history, she also had to confront a situation that was alien to her notorious 20-year résumé

through the Ottawa public service—the fact that she was suddenly out of her depth. "I was the one job in my career I never the least prepared for," she admits. "Here I had been put on this big international stage, and it was a stark contrast situation."

Driving herself through 28-hour workdays and a rough course in global economics, Ostry shook up the OECD's entrenched bureaucracy. "I was from the outside, I was the first North American in the job and I was female. For the Europeans that was very difficult," she said. "For the first year, three really was a lot of hostility." As one of her department directors, Kjell Andreasson, tactfully acknowledged in a farewell speech last week, "The OECD has been hit by three shocks—the oil price shock, the Thatcher shock—a shock and the Ostry shock."

The impact included extending the OECD forecasting period from a year to 18 months to provide a longer-range outlook and publishing more of the organization's hitherto secret analyses. With entrepreneurial flair, Ostry began setting up audited copies of her department's predictions to offset expenses. More important, she is credited with steering the OECD away from theoretical research and into timely policy-making, water down which governments could draw. "But I have been criticised as well as congratulated," she cautions. "Some people still maintain that the discussions are too detailed and technical."

Although she was tempted to stay on until the end of van Lennep's term next year, Ostry's return to Canada is a response to a more personal pull—the painful redefined nature of her 20-year-old husband, a once vibrant Winnipeg schoolmate, who moved back to Toronto last year to become Ostry's deputy minister of industry and tourism.

Despite her regret about leaving the international arena, her return to the nation's capital was inevitable. At 36 she was reluctant to abandon her federal pension rights, as she puts it. "I certainly wouldn't want to become a permanent international bureaucrat. You've already disappeared you provide the stage and the backdrop, but at least you're still an observer." For an observer like Ostry, there are still things to be done in Ottawa, no matter how agitated. In bidding farewell to her OECD colleagues and the press at a sumptuous buffet she threw in the organization's gilt chateau and gardens last week, she quoted from the song *Thru the Eyes of Memory* in a light-hearted acknowledgement of her own stormy tenure: "You might have been a headache but you have never been a bore." Ottawa's bureaucracy might also take that as advance warning. ☐

# Maislin's bid for survival

It was a spectacle that combined little political sparring with the drama of corporate manslaughter. Just 12 months after recovering an emergency \$30-million loan guarantee from the federal government, Montreal-based Maislin Industries Ltd. was back at the edge of bankruptcy last week. In a desperate bid to avoid collapse, Maislin, the eighth-largest trucking company in North America, sought a moratorium on debt payments to nine secured and approximately 3,000 unsecured creditors until Oct. 31. In the meantime, Maislin began to work out a new survival plan. The company, explained President Richard Stellinger, had "run out of cash for its operation."

That move sparked a week of turmoil at Maislin's truck terminals. The company wound down its major North American operations and laid off all but a few hundred of its 3,500 workers. Company documents show that am-



Idle Maislin trucks in Toronto: pilot lines and bottlenecked cheques

Overaged employees of the main domestic subsidiary, Maislin Transport Ltd., farmed pickup lines at Ontario and Quebec terminals. One group in Montreal sensed 25 trucks when they learned that their paycheques would not be honoured, and later just weeks company vice-chairman and former president Alan Maislin responded, saying he would lead the fight for employees' wages. That came after the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce—Maislin's largest creditor, with \$858 million owing—moved its protest to its shareholders by calling the loan. Further adding to the dire day, companies that had leased trucks to Maislin issued another 30 vehicles in court rulings, including a large number of suppliers in Canada, are owed \$18.2 million, while secured creditors are owed \$50.4 million. Next to the CIBC, the National Bank of Canada is the most exposed, with nearly \$7 million owed to it. Stellinger said that the company hopes to find "a viable solution to its financial difficulties" and hopes to be able to continue "to serve the Canadian and U.S. marketplace." Part of the survival plan will involve the sale of "all excess assets and rolling stock." But with liabilities of \$70.3 million stacked against assets of \$70.7 million, Maislin has decidedly bleak prospects.

The chronic difficulties besetting

Mainline, which once ruled the roads as Canada's largest transport company, began four years ago. In 1979 the company began an aggressive expansion into the United States. It bought two major trucking firms—Gateway Transport Services Co. of La Conner, Wash., and Quinsig Freight Lines Inc. of Revere, Mass. But the fortunes of these and three other subsidiaries ran up against high interest rates and the U.S. decision to deregulate the industry. Price cutting by competing firms, coupled with the impact of the recession, helped increase Mainline's losses to more than \$30 million (U.S.) in 1981 and 1982 combined. Losses were \$4 million (U.S.) in the first quarter of 1983. Mainline was not alone in its difficulty. Deregulation in the U.S. threw 300 U.S. trucking firms into bankruptcy, and many of the 300 largest firms are now operating in the red.

In an effort to bail out Mainline—it employed 1,300 people in Canada, two-thirds of them in Montreal—the federal government stepped in to guarantee the \$34-million loan last July. It seems fair to his bucking, Ottawa required Mainline to respect its *Ste-Juste*-Price wage increase guidelines and demanded the right to put a representative on the board—an option that, as New Democratic Party House Leader Ian Down pointed out, had, inexplicably, not been exercised.

What is more, last week's developments regarding opposition charges that the government skewed favoritism in bailing out Mainline is the first blow. As Stevens and Macdonald's, the ballad was pushed through cabinet by then Energy Minister Marc Lalonde, despite the opposition of Herb Gray, then minister of industry, labor and consumers, and a government report signifying against the move. "Lalonde came from left field and insisted that the government go ahead," said Stevens. The Tory MP is demanding a parliamentary inquiry into why Mainline was helped "when so many other trucking firms were in the doldrums."

Lalonde has long defended the bailout on the grounds that it maintained jobs and corporate taxes. But transcripts of Mainline's fittings last week reveal that the minister of Revenue, Canada Revenue, Canada \$84,747 in dividends from an unnamed oil-sands subsidiary. In fact, the defense that Industry, Trade and Consumers Minister Peter Lougheed could make last week for the move was to point to three successful bailouts for Chrysler Canada Ltd. and Messier-Ferguson Ltd. Said Lougheed: "We're winning more than we're losing, and that's what really counts." For Mainline Industries Ltd., it was a most point.

—JAMES FLEMING in Toronto, with ANNE REINER in Montreal



Fox (left); U.S. Trade Representative William Brock; three cross-border litigators

## Shouts across the border

**I**n Ottawa and Washington last week there were fresh signs of mutual discontent. On Capitol Hill the Reagan administration announced a retaliatory strike against Canada's long-standing tax law, which prevents Canadian firms from claiming advertising on U.S. television as a tax deduction. In Ottawa, Communications Minister Francis Fox announced plans to phase out the tax in postal subsidies for foreign magazines printed in Canada. In addition, officials in both capitals examined the likely effects of a retaliatory ruling by the Geneva-based General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that upheld a U.S. government complaint against Canada's Patago Investment Treaty Agency (IRTA).

The dispute between U.S. border broadcasting interests and Ottawa started with a 1975 Canadian law that allowed Canadian firms from deduct the cost of advertising placed on U.S. television located into Canada. Arguing that they are losing approximately \$20 million annually, U.S. broadcasters lobbied Washington to enact "tariffed" legislation, which would prevent foreign companies from claiming a tax deduction for ads placed on Canadian border stations. Last week Washington complied, and the retaliatory measure, drafted by the Office of Management and Budget, is to be sent to the Senate this week as part of an amendment to another tax bill that is already expected to pass. As a result, the new law could come into effect as early as this fall.

Washington will not be any happier

about the Canadian proposal to drop subsidies that the communications department pays to Canada Post Corp. True, and 28 smaller U.S. magazines printed in Canada—including the Jewish World's *Witness* periodicals Watchtower and Awake!—pay a preferential rate of 53 cents per copy, while 319 other foreign publications printed outside Canada pay 32 cents. Canadian magazines pay 42 cents. In 1982 alone, the federal communications department paid Canada Post \$11 million to cover the magazine subsidies. Ottawa, however, reportedly will continue its \$4.8-million subsidy to *Time* magazine and will extend the 53-cent rate to *Newsweek*, which just agreed to print the U.S. edition in Canada. Despite that concession—and the fact that most nations do not subsidize foreign periodicals—there is little doubt that the phasing out of the subsidy will spark American outrage.

The U.S. decision provided further ammunition to "Canada-bashers" last week. Although GATT defended Ottawa's right to set export controls for foreign-owned companies based in Canada, the panel ruled that visa was breaking GATT agreements by requiring foreign firms to purchase materials from Canadian suppliers. The decision will go before the body's fall 88-member council in October. Despite attempts by diplomats in both capitals last week to defuse the dispute, the rambunctious on both sides of the border had grown discernibly louder.

—SHEILA MCKAY in Toronto, with WILHELM LEUTHEUS in Washington

## The \$152-million question

**T**he document was comprehensive in scope and startling in its conclusions. But when the Ontario government released the results of the eight-month long Morrison inquiry into the alleged financial misconduct of the participants in the \$500-million flip of nearly 11,000 Toronto apartment units last fall, the reverberations of the affair were double-fold. The possibility of charges lay ahead and the Ontario government faced demands for an inquiry into its stewardship of the trust industry.

Consumer and Commercial Relations Minister Robert Elgie clearly hoped

that the methods that the business used "had developed to a routine over the previous two years." According to the report, that routine involved a maze of complex maneuverings. These apparently confused government regulators.

Equally troubling, the inquiry could not find a \$169-million down payment allegedly made by the apartment's foreign purchasers, whoever they were. Despite Elgie's previous claim that the money was deposited in a Capayn Islands bank, investigators could not find it. They discovered that the 50 numbered companies that were set up to carry out the purchase of the apartments for the investors first borrowed \$109 million from a Capayn bank. The money was transferred in checks to Kildonan Investments Ltd., and owner Player immediately deposited them in 50 accounts in the same bank in the name of Kildonan. Although the investors apparently used a \$200-million letter of credit to back up their legitimacy, the report concluded, "At no time were the ultimate partners identified, if any, at risk."

But Morrison also indiscriminately charged the provincial regulators of both Elgie and Thompson with "gross negligence." Said Morrison: "A more aggressive approach by the Registrar [Murray Thompson] in dealing with non-operating management would seem to be appropriate."

The criticism gave added impetus to calls for a full public inquiry into the government's handling of the affair. Demanding the resignation of both Elgie and Thompson last week, Ontario Liberal Leader David Peterson charged that Morrison's report proves that the government was "sleep at the switch" in regulating the trust industry. While the government is unlikely to agree to such an inquiry, it will have a chance to make its case in court if civil or criminal charges are laid in the coming weeks. Judging from the accusations of Morrison's allegations, that is almost a certainty.

—JAMES FLEMING

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## Volcker sticks to a steady course

**T**he only real test that the Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker had to endure at the Senate banking committee last week came from the television lights. The hearing, called to weigh the banker's association to a second term by President Ronald Reagan, was uneventful—except for Volcker's surprise revelation that he may step down well before his four-year second mandate expires. The lack of drama brought sighs of relief from the international financial community and calmed the markets. On the future of U.S. monetary policy, Volcker's testimony was decidedly reassuring. Despite fears of a halo in interest rates in coming months, Volcker revisited that the Fed plans no major moves to raise U.S. interest rates.

As the U.S. recovery gathers momentum, the Fed has faced strong pressure from monetarist economists to slow the growth of the U.S. money supply in order to head off a new bout of inflation. But as Volcker's testimony last week indicated, the central bank, in fact, has already applied the brake gently by reducing the amount of private bank reserves available to banks near lending.

Still, Volcker must walk a tightrope between monetarist fears of renewed inflation and the potentially catastrophic effect of a shift to higher interest rates—the federal discount rate now stands at 6½ per cent. His main goal—recovery with low interest rates and low inflation—is made virtually impossible by the \$300-billion-plus (\$2.5 trillion) deficits expected over the next several years. "The United States is borrowing \$750 million a day," Volcker warned Congress last week. "That is a lot of money to be taking out of the market." As recovery spurs private borrowing, those enormous federal demands on available capital promise to put upward pressure on interest rates and make Volcker's job even more difficult.

On one level, as former undersecretary of the treasury Gresham Walker said last week, Washington's fiscal choices have left monetary policy—Volcker's burden—"the only game in town." On the other hand, without something closer to a balanced budget, Volcker's policy choices amount to either "accommodating" what could become extremely inflationary pressures or risking the sort of erratic "inflation" that pushed the United States—and the world—at the 1981-82 recession. It is hardly surprising that Volcker, as he hastened last week, may soon want to review his personal burden.

—LAWRENCE GOODMAN in New York City

## BUSINESS WATCH

## Fishing for wealth in the oil pool

By Peter C. Newman

**B**rian Peckford may not be doing much for the business future of Newfoundland—but he has created a minor economic miracle in Nova Scotia. The poor Newfoundland's economy is self-destructed, one and for all, the issue about which Atlantic oil will become the centre of the oil and natural gas play that, within a decade, could be larger than the North Sea.

Even a year ago, it was still an open question whether St. John's or Halifax would benefit most. Peckford's proves have now settled it; his position is holding fast off the oil industry's long-term plans. It took the feds to get some clarity at Hibernia going again. But more significantly, the essential infrastructure—the suppliers, moneymen, scientists, geologists—has been quickly moving out of St. John's to Halifax.

When Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan signed his agreement on offshore exploration with Ottawa 1½ years ago, there was one big drilling off Nova Scotia. Soon there will be nine, and the companies involved—the big multinationals and the rest of Calgary, Houston and Dallas—have pledged to spend about \$10 billion over the next three years. Husky, Bow Valley, Shell and Mobil, as well as the Canadian Petroleum Association, have already opened major Halifax-based operations.

It's difficult to estimate just how large the spin-off will be. That a \$10-billion drilling rig just launched by Saint John Shipbuilding had an 80-per-cent Canadian ownership factor might be one good indication. Writing in the *Business Response*, Lynne Watkins has estimated the job gains for Nova Scotia's shipyards of \$60 billion by 2000. That would mean an annual \$12 billion flow into Nova Scotia's treasury to royalties and taxes alone.

The Venture project is one that's certain to go into production, but how many unseeded structures will yield marketable quantities of gas and how much oil can be produced has yet to be determined. Watkins predicts that this one field will have a positive impact of \$1.12 billion a year on Canada's balance of trade with the United States.

About 2,500 jobs have already been created in and around Halifax, and engineers are currently planning how to bring the gas from Seabed to the main-

land at Country Harbor Mine. NS

isn't expected to be much of a technical problem because the route will follow a sandy, ice-free trough on the ocean floor. The National Energy Board has assured the provinces that there will be no trouble with a gas export permit, but settling permission to sell energy south of the border is proving to be much tougher. Mobil, which leads the Seabed syndicate, is already lobbying hard in Washington with the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and other government agencies for an import permit, and two major US states—New England, States Pipeline and Tennessee Gas Commission—have applied for the distribution rights. Imagine

"The market is there, and it's big," Buchanan told Maclean's. He has had inquiries "all the way from Alberta" about the possibilities of developing a petrochemical industry in Nova Scotia, and chances are that the Nova Scotia capital could be at the start of its fastest growth cycle since Confederation.

Even during the recent recessions Nova Scotia managed out fairly intact, with the fifth-lowest unemployment rate in the country and the fifth-lowest per capita deficit ratio (The province's deficit totals \$84 million). Halifax is enjoying remarkable stability, and real estate prices are starting to climb in anticipation of the boom. There is a hotel trade in visiting foreign. One of the city's most attractive hotels, the Britannia Inn, was built by the Delta chain three years ago at a cost of \$80,000 per room and is now making a very satisfactory return.

Buchanan is smiling pretty. The only one of the seven Conservative provincial leaders to support Brian Mulroney before the recent Tory convention and overriding a promise which Mulroney has decided not to break in Parliament, the Nova Scotia premier is used to being in a national inferiority. "Ever since I became a politician 17 years ago," he says, "the Maritimes have been talking about tidal power. Well, now we've got it. Two months from now we'll be opening our first 400-megawatt turbine, will be opened at Annapolis Royal. Eventually there'll be 140 units generating 4,000 megawatts of electricity—North America's first tidal power project. No more talk. It's actually happening. Sosey with the off-shore. For 12 years we talked about it. Now we've got the resources, and all that's left is to work out a few mechanics."

Unlike his halibut neighbor, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia is perched in anticipation at the edge of the Atlantic, quietly gearing up for its role as monomarketer.



Buchanan: gas and tidal power now



COVER

# The nation's new agony over abortion

In Winnipeg, where abortionist Dr. Henry Morgentaler faced criminal charges last week, the protesters' signs were explicit: "Keep your laws off my body," said one respondent. Another: "Baby batters go home." In Regis, hundreds of anti-abortion demonstrators walked in silent protest through a downtown park. In Vancouver those favoring individual discretion on the issue had planned a national day of protest for Oct. 1. After a decade of relative calm, one of the nation's most divisive and bitter issues has erupted, vulnerability this summer, complete with bitter name-calling, death threats and a display of moral righteousness on all sides.

In a rare outburst of moral outrage, Canadians everywhere are taking a stand on the rights and wrongs of having an abortion. In Winnipeg and Toronto Morgentaler defiantly opened two abortion clinics to test the federal abortion law. Police promptly raided the clinics, seized equipment and files, and charged Morgentaler and several of his staff with conspiring to procure an abortion. Each raid was followed by demonstrations and counter-demonstrations as pro-lifers groups sought to capture public support. At the

in defiance of the law. Tried and acquitted three times, he went to prison when a Quebec court of appeal, at one point, reversed an acquittal—a precedent in Canadian legal history.

Dr. Morgentaler had effectively won abortion on request for women in Quebec and, after being released from jail, he returned to his practice. Since then his clinic has performed as many as 80 abortions a week. Morgentaler uses a suction extraction technique which involves withdrawing, under vacuum pressure, the fetus and the lining of the uterus. Morgentaler's 30-minute operation is performed with a local anaesthetic. Indeed, Morgentaler became such a respected expert in Quebec that three years ago the provincial government asked him to train doctors in his techniques for use in the province's community health clinics where many abortions are now performed. Morgentaler has already trained 20 doctors.

Despite his ready ready battles, Morgentaler went on to become wealthy, with an estimated yearly income of \$100,000 and considerable real estate holdings in Montreal. By the early 1980s, married for a second time and with a young son, Morgentaler finally seemed to have found an oasis of salinity in his life (page 38).

Opposition that isn't full the McGill-trained physician purposefully threw himself back into the abortion fray. Even though he had won the battle in Quebec, he faced difficult reminders that women in many parts of Canada still could not get an abortion. Under the sterilized 1980 law, women could undergo the operation if their health was endangered and then only with the approval of a special therapeutic abortion committee set up in an accredited hospital. But the reality was that in deeply religious parts of the country, such as the Atlantic provinces or rural areas where community pressure was strongly anti-abortion, hospitals often refused to set up committees. Even when committees existed, hospitals sometimes set quotas on the number of abortions that could be performed (page 35). "Women are suffering," Morgentaler told *Maclean's* last week just before he flew to Winnipeg to face the charges. "They are travelling, journeying around across the country. They come to Montreal or go to the United States or maybe, in desperation, abort themselves or go to some quack." Morgentaler says that he was moved by the hundreds of letters sent to him by women who needed help. One Ottawa woman, who had undergone an abortion at the Montreal clinic, wrote to tell him about a friend who had visited a backstreet abortionist 20 years before. "When I told her of the kindness and warmth that surrounded me at your clinic," the letter declared, "she said she

felt some of her suffering had been alleviated."

Morgentaler's critics suspect his motives, however. According to friends and foes, Morgentaler derives no monetary and a high public profile. Green Lapidus, a spokesman for Campaign Life, a national anti-abortion group, said: "He is not the backwoods man in the world and he probably loves all these women flocking to him. Besides that, he likes money. He is a trodeman." Counterfeiter Judy Rebick, a spokeswoman for Morgentaler's Toronto clinic, "He is a wealthy man, but as a committed feminist if I thought he was doing this for the money—making money off the backs of women—I would not be around, and neither would anyone else."

When Morgentaler re-entered the abortion debate, the opposition to his practice had hardened noticeably. The anti-abortion forces had gained strength and momentum as dozens of

groups organized across the country and started to exert influence. Critics say that the anti-abortionists severely limit the autonomy of members of families and the amount of their public funding. But they have clearly become both vocal and visible.

**Protests:** Campaign Life is the political wing of the anti-abortion movement and is headed by Kathleen Tozer, an Edmonton medical technician. Group members attend self-sacrifice meetings and attempt to pin down politicians on their abortion views. In Manitoba the League for Life, headed by Priscilla Becker, a Roman Catholic registered nurse, claims to have 3,000 members. Along with an active newspaper and magazine, the league recently ran a television ad which featured a doctor explaining the development of the fetus. Said Becker: "I was convinced that if people saw what the embryo was, people would not destroy it."

The most disruptive hospital fight

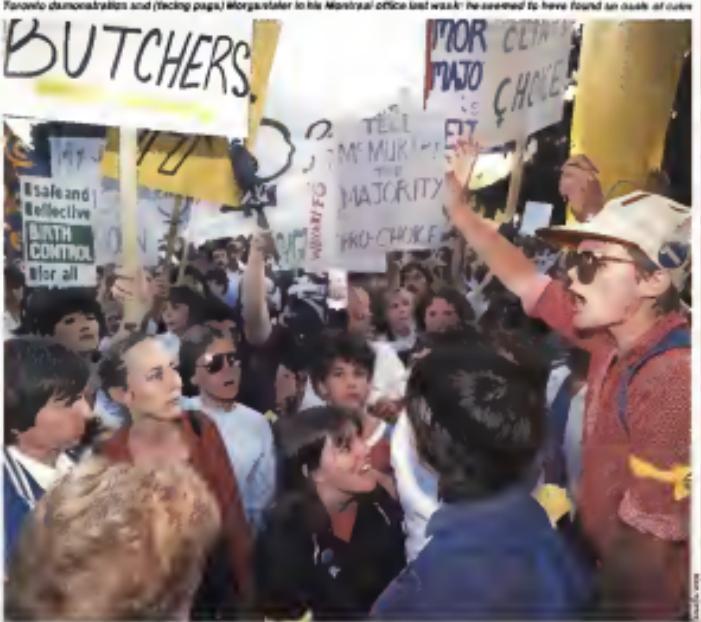
took place in Moncton last summer,

where a determined effort by the local

Right-to-Life Association forced doctors

to suspend abortions for six months.

Gynecologists at the Moncton General





**Cover** **Borowski in Winnipeg:** "The power! and persuasion of the media and the funds"

Hospital regularly received letters describing them as "murderers" and "butchers," and the hospital itself was labelled an "abortion mill." The group claims to have 225 chapters and 1,000 members. Last year its Montreal office had two full-time employees and a budget of about \$100,000. The issue has so scared the province's political community that last September, when it became known that the group was supporting a \$50-a-plate roast for Senator Louis Robichaud as a fund raiser, several politicians and local trade groups suddenly declined their invitations. The Moncton General Hospital did remain open last December, but just before it did so, the anti-abortion group ran an 18-page newspaper supplement containing a sum of \$20,000 New Brunswickers opposed to abortion.

Dr. Carl Robbins, medical administrator of the Health Sciences Centre in St. John's, reflected the concern felt by many hospital staffs trying to cope with the conflicting wishes of their clients. "Right now I interpret these [the views of the community] as being fairly restrictive—that's not saying that I agree with that." In St. John's, a steambath Roman Catholic city, *The Daily News* regularly refers to abortions in its news columns as "murders."

The anti-abortion forces have been greatly strengthened by the emergence of their own crusader, Joseph Borowski, 61, known as "Holy Joe." An astute former Manitoba politician, attorney, who has dedicated himself exclusively to er-

adicating abortion. A former NDP cabinet colleague, Russell Darrow, once described Borowski as having "the power and permission of the media and the religious fanatic." A devout Catholic, Borowski has indeed been determined to, in quest—what he describes as "a Nazi-like invasion to stop the Morgentaler looter shops." Now a health-food store owner in Winnipeg, Borowski has fought for the past five years to clear legal and financial obstacles in order to challenge the constitutionality of the federal abortion law in the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench.

**Hyattite.** Last May, Borowski launched the first round of that legal action in Regina when he flew medical experts in from around the world to argue that an unborn fetus is a human being. So far, his case has cost \$200,000 but raising money poses no difficulty for Borowski. Through speaking engagements and donations, he is well financed. "We raised more than \$300,000 in two months and already had \$100,000 in the bank," he said. At one speech to the Knights of Columbus, a Borowski ticket sold for \$20,000 to a member of the audience. "Not even Trudeau could get that price for a tie," he declared. In April, Borowski also received \$10,000 from the Toronto Roman Catholic diocese's Biscotteri fund, a little-publicized gift from a special cash reserve destined specifically for his court battle.

With Morgentaler and Borowski now spearheading the opposing forces, the abortion fight has taken on a knight-and-foolishness. Morgentaler's Winnipeg clinic has been open only four weeks,

under the careful eyes of an anti-abortion vigil, when police raided it, arresting Morgentaler and fellow doctor Robert Scott and changing them and five others with conspiracy and/or possessing as abortion. In Toronto, where Morgentaler opened another clinic even though he was facing charges in Winnipeg, anti-Jewish graffiti appeared on the front of the Toronto clinic, situated in a Portuguese and predominantly Roman Catholic district near the University of Toronto. To one hundred, a man brandishing garden shears attempted to attack Morgentaler. And a woman, a wife to the clinic's head, Judy Balash, who intervened and pointed the attacker off, says: "I don't think the anti-abortion organizations are anti-Semitic themselves. But they create the kind of hysterics, the喧闹, where anti-Semites come out of the woodwork."

A police raid on the Toronto clinic on July 1 touched off the greatest outpouring of emotion among the pro-choice faction. Twenty days after the clinic opened, two plainclothes police officers, a man and a woman, visited the office, pretended to set up an appointment for an abortion, then raised the previous charges were once again laid against Morgentaler, Scott, and De Lisle Frank Bourque, 56, a publicity-shy associate of Morgentaler's who came to Canada from Hungary in 1958. This week Morgentaler, Scott and Bourque—who left Canada in 1968 to avoid abortion charges and performed legal abortions in Australia for 35 years—are free or had, although the Crown has appealed their release. Legal proceedings are expected to continue for months.

Invariably, the police raids may have done more to help the cause than months of organizing could have done. In Toronto a loose alliance of feminists, lawyers, health care workers and labor organizers sterilized dismantling a Morgentaler clinic a year ago. Yet they did not gain immediate support from the powerful women's community. Some feminists were concerned that the clinic would only serve middle-class and well-off women. It was also argued that Toronto—where accessibility to abortion is relatively easy—was not an area of prime need.

**Pro-abortionists.** But the internal arguments largely disappeared when police burst into the clinic one sunny morning as an abortion was being completed. The 20-year-old woman lying on the table had a Globe and Mail reporter afterward: "I'm not uninsured. I didn't want an abortion but I didn't want to be pregnant. It's a personal decision. No one knows what a person is going through except that one person." Overnight there were thousands of phone calls of support. Roughly \$100,000 was raised in three days. Across the country women

reacted angrily to the raid. At a demonstration in Toronto Ursula Urschel, who described herself as having as personal interest in abortion because she is over 60, expressed a common reaction: "There are many things that may well be the business of the police. But that is not one of them."

How to resolve the seemingly irreconcilable public sentiments about abortion bedevils even those who take a clear stand. The Roman Catholic Church has one of the toughest anti-abortion positions among Canada's religious groups. But it too recognizes the divisions within its own ranks. Next month the national Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Ontario Bishops Conference will both release statements on abortion, and those statements will likely be moderate in tone. The reason, according to Thunder Bay Bishop John O'Malley, is that there is "considerable public confusion" on the issue. While many Catholics might not choose to have abortions, some are reluctant to deny the operation to others. Still, in O'Malley's view such a view is morally and logically inconsistent.

**Split.** Earlier this month the church used shorthand how warmly the general public views outright censorship of abortion: while Winnipeg Archbishop Adrien Marcelle called in to extenuate Lynn Hilliard, a 20-year-old Catholic woman who had the Morgentaler clinic abort her being charged by police in the Winnipeg raid, Hilliard says that she was doing the right thing to marry in a Catholic church. She was born in the United States, the religion of her parents. But the archbishop's comment and action clearly speak many voices. But the archbishop's comment and action clearly speak many voices. But the archbishop's

Ukrainian, the abortion issue will be decided in the political arena. Morgentaler's crusade is made possible by a law that is almost unassimilable except by community consensus, and that consensus is unlikely to develop. Few Canadians seem satisfied with the existing legislation, but no one—certainly not Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan, who is implausibly opposed to abortion—wishes to undertake the politically dangerous task of reforming it.

In the meantime, federal and provincial governments are testing Morgentaler's nerves. In Ontario, Attorney General Roy McMurtry was swift to order the raid on the Toronto clinic. The Ontario Crown is moving



**Patrick:** "If he was making money off the backs of women, I would not be around"

aggressively to demand stricter laws and public views continue to converge on abortion: while Winnipeg Archbishop Adrien Marcelle called in to extenuate Lynn Hilliard, a 20-year-old Catholic woman who had the Morgentaler clinic abort her being charged by police in the Winnipeg raid, Hilliard says that she was doing the right thing to marry in a Catholic church. She was born in the United States, the religion of her parents. But the archbishop's comment and action clearly speak many voices. But the archbishop's

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Legislature will argue that the abortion law is unconstitutional with the new Charter of Rights and Freedoms because it denies women the right to life, liberty and security. Another group, the Coalition for Reproductive Choice in Winnipeg, has launched a similar action.

But whatever the politicians and courts decide, the movement is convinced that it will. Morgentaler's supporters are certain that no one will succeed him; however society at large is divided on the issue. If he is succeeded in Toronto and Winnipeg, he may be permitted to quietly open other clinics. It is a possibility that even the anti-abortion groups grudgingly concede.

Last week Morgentaler issued an urgent plea for \$100,000 to \$150,000 to reopen the Winnipeg clinic and to replace equipment that police had seized. He also put out a call for as much as \$200,000—money he will need to fight his legal battles all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada—and freed off salary savings in a manner reflecting the nature of the abortion debate. He described the police as "double crossers," the NDP government as "unworthy" and the charges against him as "ridiculous, ludicrous and outrageous." In the current climate of confusion and reluctance on the issue, those charges are certain to scuttle the national debate to an even more strenuous level.

**Stalin.** With Jackie Carter and Carol Brunson in Toronto, Peter Cartledge-Gordon in Winnipeg, David Painter in Fredericton, Anne Berne in Montreal and Beverly Scott in Vancouver,



Rosanne, the woman named, goes to state her case, and they do not give reasons'

COVER

## Stop signs and detours in the way of abortion

**B**randon, Man. (population 40,000), has one hospital, Brandon General, and it has a committee that, under Canadian law, can authorize abortions. Dr. Deanne Chaudhuri recently performed abortions there for 16 years, usually using a local anaesthetic. But 10 months ago Chaudhuri died, and the city's four other obstetricians refuse to perform abortions except in extremely rare circumstances. That standstill has ramifications, far worse than Brandon's citizens, because Brandon General serves as a referral hospital for 300,000 people in southwest Manitoba and southeastern Saskatchewan. As a result, despite the existence of a legally constituted abortion committee, women in the region have as ready access to legal abortion. And many are forced to join the more than 2,000 Canadian women who each year go to the United States for abortions.

Even though the liberal government—largely as a result of the efforts of then Justice Minister Pierre Trudeau—relaxed Canada's abortion law in 1988, legal abortions remain largely inaccessible to thousands of Canadian women who want them. The law pro-

vides that a woman has to clear a number of procedural hurdles to obtain an abortion. Permissiveness is available in some parts of the country, but it is almost impossible to obtain in others, particularly in conservative rural areas like Roman Catholic regions. As in Brandon, Canada's abortion law gives virtually no rights to women. In large cities such as Vancouver and Toronto, but even in those cities there are often long delays because of over-crowded facilities, according to Michael Dore, a spokesman with Toronto's Birth Control and Reproductive Services. And the problems are far more extreme elsewhere. In Newfoundland, only one gynaecologist, Dr. Peter Miller, is now regularly performing abortions, reluctantly reducing the number in the process. Margaretta reports that roughly half the patients in his Moncton clinic are from out of the province. In Saskatchewan the new Conservative administration of Grant Devine is openly hostile to abortion, and hospitals in Prince Albert and Moose Jaw recently dismantled their abortion committees. Now, it is extremely difficult to get an abortion anywhere in the province other than Saskatoon, says Margaretta. Even lawyers associated with the Coalition for Reproductive Choice say: "The woman never gets to state her case before them, and if they turn her down, then they do not give reasons—and there is no appeal," declares Rosset.

Debrause the minister released



Many of the regional disparities are a result

The situation sharply alarmed a three-member committee set up in 1975 by the federal government to determine how well the abortion laws were working. In its 1977 report the committee, headed by University of Toronto medical school professor Eileen Bradley and including Toronto physician Marie Powell and Montreal lawyer Dennis Poirier-Carey, concluded: "The cumulative effects of how this law has been interpreted by provincial health authorities, hospital boards and the medical profession have created a situation of much inequality of women seeking and obtaining therapeutic abortions." Six years later those inequalities are just as striking. Powell says that the situation has not improved since the committee reported that "the procedure provided in the Criminal Code for obtaining therapeutic abortion is in practice illusive for many Canadian women."

Long delays. In Quebec abortion is virtually unavailable on request, following Dr. Henry Morgentaler's successful defiance of the abortion laws in the mid-1970s (page 38). And abortions are comparatively easy to obtain—particularly for well-connected women—in large cities such as Vancouver and Toronto. But even in those cities there are often long delays because of over-crowded facilities, according to Michael Dore, a spokesman with Toronto's Birth Control and Reproductive Services. And the problems are far more extreme elsewhere. In Newfoundland, only one gynaecologist, Dr. Peter Miller, is now regularly performing abortions, reluctantly reducing the number in the process. Margaretta reports that roughly half the patients in his Moncton clinic are from out of the province. In Saskatchewan the new Conservative

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anti-abortion pressures on hospital boards and committees from within their communities. In the United States, by contrast, a 1973 Supreme Court ruling on abortion approved the establishment of abortion clinics independent of hospitals. The United States now has 600 of these clinics, where rape or incest and abortion are largely performed on an outpatient basis. But in Italy, 97% of the pre-pubescent Catholic population abstinent, since 1978, has legally been a private choice left to women and their doctor.

In Canada, however, there is an extra layer of bureaucracy involved. After a woman and her doctor have agreed that an abortion is required, they still need the approval of hospital committees, usually composed of three other doctors. The law stipulates that a woman can have an abortion only when a pregnancy endangers her life or health. But there is a wide variation in the ways that the hospital committees determine what poses such a danger. Some committees have adopted a variation of the World Health Organization's belief that a woman's health is endangered when her "social well-being" is threatened. On the other hand, the Health Sciences Centre in St. John's, the only hospital in Newfoundland where abortions are routinely performed, refuses to permit the procedure solely for social or economic reasons or for minor physical or psychiatric conditions. "The hospital is trying to reflect the views of the community," said the centre's medical administrator, Dr. Carl Rashkin. "We know how difficult that is because no one knows what these views are." Many hospital committees require that a patient have the endorsement of two doctors, and some insist that one of them be a psychiatrist.

But in British Columbia, where some of the most bitter battles over accessibility have taken place, abortion opponents have tried—unsuccessfully—to gain control of hospital boards. In New Brunswick doctors on the committee at Moncton General Hospital voted to postpone last year and suspended the procedure for six months in response to accusations that they were conducting a "silent holocaust." Last January the committee decided to resume abortions because, as Moncton's Dr. Robert Gaddie put it, "By not doing abortions we are not stopping unwanted pregnancies and we are not stopping women who desire abortions. We are merely driving them underground."

Another anomaly in the Canadian abortion system is that many hospitals grant abortion privileges only to gynaecologists and obstetricians. Dr. Kathy Greenwich, a general practitioner in

Saskatoon, does not perform abortions at the hospital even though she observes babies there—a much more complicated medical procedure than an abortion carried out in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. "We have absolutely given up," she said. "Ninety-nine per cent of our patients go to the United States."

Antiabortionists say: Many women have to wait so long when they have to wait for hospital committees to consider their cases at length that their hospital facilities become unavailable.

The chance of complications from abortion increases after 10 weeks of pregnancy, and many women do not realize that they are pregnant until the eighth or ninth week. And after they have passed their 12th week of pregnancy, many hospitals refuse to perform an abortion at all. Merr-Anne Wignall of Planned Parenthood in Edmonton estimates that because of long delays roughly half of the women seeking abortions there end up going

for a trip to the United States; those who can afford to fly to Seattle, Wash. The alternative is a 12-hour road trip to Mississauga, Ont. The same problem used to exist in Canada, but last May the city's Foothills Hospital set up a woman's clinic, which has reduced the number of trips to a maximum of two.

Still, the Foothills clinic is an integral part of a morally bleak culture that is actually tightening up the restrictions on the operation. The number of Canadian women having abortions in the United States rose by 60 per cent over the previous year to 1,053 in 1985—the last year for which figures are available. As long as Canadian women face arbitrary and unequal access to abortion, that number is likely to continue to climb.

—Linda McQuarrie and Jackie Coates in Toronto, with Peter Carlyle-Gordis in Winnipeg, David Painter in Victoria and Randolph Joyce in St. John's

Abortion patient: a complex question of 'social well-being' or 'silent holocaust'



# Morgentaler's rough and risky campaign

**H**e spent \$100,000—and 10 months in jail—after facing three Quebec government prosecutions as the 1970s. He has endorsed the death camps of Auschwitz and the loss of close family. Now, Dr Henry Morgentaler of Westmount, Que., is back before the courts, the slight, intense symbol of an emotional national debate about abortion. For millions of Canadian women he represents the long-fought aspiration for personal freedom of choice. To his critics, Morgentaler is nothing less than a butcher of unborn children.

For all that, the man at the centre of the storm is at peace with himself, if not his accusers in Manitoba and Ontario. Last week, with his second wife, Carmen Werth, an enthusiastic supporter at his side, Morgentaler recalled for Maclean's his personal "growth process"—including periods of psychoanalysis and sexual therapy. His wife ensured that there was another ingredient: "A happy home life." Morgentaler chuckled as he reached back and grasped her hand. "And, of course," he agreed, "a happy home life."

But nowhere Personal contentment was so easily attained. Morgentaler spent a difficult childhood in the Jewish ghetto of Lódz, Poland. His father, Joseph, a leftist textile union leader, his mother, Golda, an authoritarian figure whose son felt she did not love him, and his brother, Chaim, were killed in the Nazis' During the Second World War, Morgentaler himself was interned at Auschwitz and Dachau, from which he tried an abortive escape. He did escape the gas chambers and after the war began his medical studies at the University of Marburg in West Germany. In 1946 he made his way to Belgium, where his childhood sweet-heart, Cheva Rosenfarb, awaited him. Morgentaler married the well-educated Yiddish poet in 1948 and moved to Montreal, where Rosenfarb had an invitation to write and teach.

Morgentaler graduated in medicine from the University of Montreal in 1953 and established a successful practice in an east-end working-class neighbourhood. The couple had two children—a daughter, Golda, now 33, and a son, Banus, 23—and the practice prospered.

But the often-troubled Morgentaler has been undergoing psychoanalysis since 1959. In 1964 he co-founded the Humanist Fellowship of Montreal, a chapter of the international organization that promotes a philosophy of self-denying and the worth of machines. (Yves Trudeau was a fellow member and acquaintance of Morgentaler's.)

As a result of his membership in that association, Morgentaler went to Ottawa in 1967 as a spokesman for three humanist groups during a Commons study of the abortion law. Morgentaler

sat the witness went elsewhere, none wanting to tell Morgentaler that their abortions had been badly handled. "Finally," he said, "I decided that it was my duty to help." In 1968 Morgentaler performed the first of his estimated 11,000 abortions. Two years later Quebec authorities raided his clinic. Morgentaler was charged with performing illegal abortions and, although three successive juries acquitted him, in 1975 he was forced to serve part of an 18-month prison sentence while awaiting appeals to be heard. During his incarceration Morgentaler suffered a heart attack but he best recalls that he was Ping-Pong champion of Barriecon Jail, playing against people half his age. He was charged one more time, but eventually Quebec abandoned its efforts. In 1980 the provincial government agreed to allow abortions in community clinics.

**CHARGE:** The most recent clinic handles 40 to 50 women in the three days it is open each week. The Morgentaler group charges \$35 for each patient, except for the roughly 20 per cent of his cases that are handled at reduced rates or at no charge at all. Morgentaler receives a \$10,000-a-year stipend from the private clinic—he is not a shareholder—and most of the rest of the proceeds cover the cost of nurses, anaesthetists and consultants. Morgentaler and the other three doctors also bill the provincial medicare scheme for their services.

Werth, 46, shares her husband's cause. She is of Swiss extraction; in Chile she was a linguist and teacher until she met Morgentaler in 1979 at a party staged by the Association for Humanistic Psychology in Montreal. They were married later that year, and Werth gave up her career to help him get men in his. In fact, Werth dominated the two new clinics in Waterloo and Toronto "to reflect the concern and warmth of the people working there." For her part, Werth says lightly that she has "always dreamed of having nine children around a farmhouse table." Thinking of their headlines three-year-old son, Yann, Henry Morgentaler observed, "I think we have enough."

—ANNE BURKE  
in Montreal



Morgentaler from Auschwitz to a Ping-Pong game

shocked his listeners with the unusual proposal: for abortion in the first three months of pregnancy, "not as a privilege, but as a right." The doctor was unprepared for the reaction to the humanists' position. Women across the country responded and started busking offices for abortions, but he turned them away. "I had a wife and two children to support," Morgentaler explained. "If I did do abortion, I would risk losing my business and going to jail."



A scene from Dragon's Lair matching digest from the bloodline of Pac-Man

## RECREATION

# Videogames' new realism

Ever since North Americans first played the crude, relentless brawlers of the immensely successful arcade videogame Space Invaders in the late 1970s, rival electronics manufacturers have sought to grab the attention of easily bored game players by improving the look of their machines. But even the current generation of full-color graphics seems too little more than jerky computer blips compared to the new realm of videotapes that are poised to enter the arcades.

The new machines are based on laser-disc technology—currently used in home video movie players and newly introduced compact records. The first of the innovative games, Dragon's Lair, which is scheduled to appear in Canadian arcades before the end of the month, resembles a Saturday cartoon—but with the viewer directing the action. By wielding a "joystick" control lever and brandishing a "push-button" sword, the player guides a smoothly moving animated knight around a series of electronic hazards.

It is hardly an accident that the new laser-conjured 3D memories as old as Walt Disney's Willy Advanced Micro-computer Systems' design, Dragon's Lair, is California's the animation by Dan Hattie Associates, a Los Angeles-based company that is dedicated to refining the standards of classic animation.

Another laser-disc game due to be released in arcades this fall in North America (it took root in Japan and the States last April) uses live footage in

addition to animation as a backdrop. In San Diego-based Sega Electronics' Astro Ball, the player controls a computer-generated spaceship that flies, like Wario-style, through blind access featuring sack ponds as an interstellar dogfight and a tortuous space tunnel. Robert Rauschenberg, Sega's vice-president of marketing and sales, predicts that laser-disc games will become a major part of the recovery of a recently sagging \$3-billion North American videogame market. "We are just beginning to understand how to use the technology in our industry," he says.

The laser discs' appeal for game manufacturers lies in the versatility they offer: any audiovisual signal—the music, cartoons, or—can be encoded on the recordable discs. So, despite their enormous flexibility, laser-disc videogames may be less challenging for veteran arcade players than "classic" ones, partly because so much of the laser games' mystery may be devoted to constructing the elaborate graphics. "You have tried originally in play for real," explains computer games Prof. Alan Fournier, a computer graphics expert at the University of Toronto. In addition, laser-disc movement takes place in indexed sequences, so a player controls

the game only as necessary, is other programmes the action is continuous. The stamp that is now affecting the videogame market also seems to be continuous. Clearly, with laser-disc technology the industry hopes to snatch defeat from the jaws of Pac-Man.

—PETER GRIFFIN in Toronto

## SCIENCE

# Assault on mosquitoes

In many parts of Canada this year a wet spring provided ideal breeding conditions for the base of autochthonous, or native, flying insects. Mosquitoes added another dimension to an old quandary facing local authorities—in spray or not to spray? Environmentalists object to chemical treatment of ponds and ditches to reduce the mosquito population, arguing that the long-term effects on humans and other forms of life are still largely unknown. But with accidents demanding some form of pest control, researchers have turned to finding a naturally occurring larvicide. Now they may have one, if trials under way in Winnipeg and on Saskatchewan's Torch River live up to expectations.

The agent is Bacillus thuringiensis israelensis—Bti for short—a bacterium that produces a crystalline protein complex highly toxic to mosquitoes and blackfly larvae. Bti was first discovered by soil scientist Israel's Ben Gurion University about six years ago. The Canada Flying Fly Center, at the University of Manitoba, is testing it on blackfly larvae in the Torch River, northeast of Prince Albert, and the field tests have produced an impressive kill rate, says the centre's director, Mary Chance. "A liquid formulation of Bti looks like Jell-O chocolate pudding," says Chance. "It sticks, but it is very effective and one of the most exciting developments in a long time."

She works by "destroying the guts" of the feeding larvae, Chance explained. And the City of Winnipeg has found Bti as effective, though still unperfected, killer in trials this year. Municipal entomologist Eric Ellis said that Verticillium, a Bti agent produced by Abbott Laboratories of Chicago, was more expensive than traditional chemicals and did not last as long. "So," he said, "the manufacturers are working on new formulations, and I think those biological larvicides will eventually dominate mosquito-control programs."

At least two other U.S. firms have started to produce Bti larvicides, and other tests are under way or proposed in Canada and the United States. After three decades of search for a natural, and safe, larvicide, Bti, says an entomologist from the University of Illinois, is "the first major breakthrough" — PETER CALLELY CORRIGAN in Winnipeg



## MEDICINE

# The mystery at Sick Kids

By Pat Chiodario

**T**hree years ago a tragic epidemic of infant deaths broke out in the cardiac ward of Toronto's world-renowned Hospital for Sick Children. Nurse Susan Nelles was subsequently charged with four of those deaths. More than a year ago she was completely exonerated at a preliminary hearing. But the judge in that case said at the time that someone administering the heart drug digoxin had murdered five babies. At least three investigations since then have raised the number of "suspicious" deaths at various times to seven, 38 and 46. Still, police have not laid any new charges. Now, testimony before an Ontario royal commission has raised doubts about whether there were any homicides committed at Sick Children's: the mystery of what happened on the cardiac ward, from the fateful summer of 1985 until early 1981—and who is responsible—has deepened even further.

When Ontario Attorney General Roy McMarty responded to pressure, particularly from parents of the dead infants, and ordered the commission inquiry last April, he described the hospital deaths as "a tragedy of horrific proportions, simply unprecedented in Canada's history." Still, an explanation of the deaths remains elusive, and Nelles, for her part, returned to work at the hospital on July 4 after 21 months of paid leave. But on the commission con-

cernent acted properly in their investigation and is in the subsequent prosecution of Nelles.

As well, the commission may uncover a criminal suspect, but that is an ambiguous prospect legally. The terms of reference do not empower the commissioner, Ontario Supreme Court Judge Steven Grange, to come to any conclusion of law regarding criminal or criminal responsibility. Still, says commission counsel Paul Lamek: "If we get clear and persuasive evidence about one or more persons who may have been involved in the deaths in the ward, presumably the commissioner's report will mention that." Lamek told Maclean's he will question nurses who were on the ward during the several period from July, 1980, to March, 1981, including Nelles and her supervisor,

Phyllis Traynor.

Two weeks of often conflicting evidence from experts on the properties and effects of digoxin—particularly concerning the difficulties of interpreting toxicology on an embryo or preserved human specimen—have so far raised doubts about whether any deaths were murdered. Bernard Myrick, a fellow pediatric pharmacologist from the University of Minnesota, told the commission that, because of a tendency of digoxin levels in blood to increase naturally after death, it was "almost a hopeless task" trying to reach any conclusions from an embalmed body about what damage of digoxin a baby had been given or when and how it had been administered. In another twist, David Seacroke, a biochemist from Nottingham University, claimed that from

contested on the basics of digoxin testing, there was reason to believe that it might eventually provide an acceptable resolution to the problem.

For one thing, the commission is armed with, and will make public, the results of all previous investigations, including a detailed study by the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta which has never been published. The commission will also attempt to determine whether the police and the govern-

ment offices right with Nelles' "a tragedy of horrific proportions."



Hospital in Vancouver, testified that an unidentified but naturally occurring substance in infants—which he called "Substance X"—can inflate digoxin test readings and even produce apparent signs of the drug when it has not been administered.

Regardless of the reliability of digoxin tests, records that were made public last week left no doubt that the number of deaths in the cardiac ward increased, then remained in accord with an extraordinary abruptness. A York University statistician and computer expert, Steve Gilmour-Bryce, told *Maclean's* of "a 605 T-per-cent increase" in deaths during the crucial nine-month period, compared to two nine-month stretches before and two after that seven. Specifically, the grim total was 34 deaths, as opposed to five, six, one, and seven during the other comparable periods. In addition, 34 of the babies died between 1 a.m. and 5 a.m. during the nine months being investigated, while the highest number of deaths between those hours during any other comparable period from January, 1976, through September, 1982, was only one.

Dr. Richard Ross, the hospital's chief of cardiology, faced a battery of questions on just when hospital authorities realized that a disturbing number of babies were dying on the cardiac ward, what the doctors sacrificed the deaths to and what they did about it. Calm and articulate but appealing, interestingly dressed as the days of testimony were old, Ross, 68, said that the cardiac ward was concerned about the deaths during the late summer of 1980. But he maintained that the eight deaths that were discussed last week could generally be explained by severe heart malformations. Still, when Lamek pressed him, Ross acknowledged that the symptoms that the victims exhibited just before death—such as irregular pulse, vomiting and a rapid deterioration in their overall condition—were "consistent with digoxin poisoning."

As the Inquiry continues, a lawsuit in which Susan Nelles is demanding \$850,000 for "malicious prosecution" by McMarty and the Metropolitan Toronto Police hangs over the proceedings. Perhaps when the current public inquiry is completed, probably sometime this winter, one of the most disturbing mysteries in Canadian medical history will be solved. A homicide conviction cannot be ruled out. But one outcome that Lamek definitely hopes for is "a restoration of public confidence in important institutions—the hospital, the police force and the prosecutorial arm of the attorney general." Still, that doesn't necessarily mean that they will "clean up fly-by-night and clean," insists Lamek. "I think you can restore confidence by airing all the facts." ♦



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*The Financial Post*

## When black is no longer beautiful

In the 1960s the proud slogan was "Black is beautiful." But today increasing numbers of blacks in Africa—especially young women—are bleaching their skin white by rubbing lotions and creams onto their bodies. From roadside billboards, in local magazines and on TV and movie screens, skin-bleach advertisers tell young Africans that "dark skin is evil"—and in that context, "white" is a euphemism for pale. The trend has spawned a multi-million-dollar trade for the European and North American-based cosmetics industry. But the creams have also given rise to concerns among ethnic purists, who find it demeaning for Africans to strip their black heritage, and among scientists who are worried about the physical reactions.

Norish Oshiro, for one, a research biochemist at Kenya's Nairobi University, found that the active ingredients of the most commonly used skin lighteners include potentially dangerous concentrations of mercury or a photographic-developing chemical, hydroquinone. "In one shop in Nairobi, I counted no fewer than 15 brands of harmful creams," she said. Mercury, which lightens the skin by destroying pigment-producing enzymes, can also enter the body through the bloodstream and attack the kidneys. During the past 10 years doctors at Nairobi's Kenyatta National Hospital have treated an alarming number of young women suffering from kidney failure. A study of 60 cases revealed that all the patients had been using skin-lightening creams with higher mercury concentrations than medically recommended.

Most reputable cream manufacturers claim mercury or use it only in extremely low concentrations, with some having substituted hydroquinone for the mercury. Yet some researchers believe that hydroquinone interferes with the production of melanin, a pigment that gives the skin its color. In a black person, the pigmentation protects the skin from harsh tropical sun. Said Dr. Estelle Ansara, a consultant dermatologist at Kenyatta National Hospital: "When the skin is bleached with hydroquinone, the effect of the sun becomes obvious; people get badly sunburned, the sunburn heals and leaves a scar." Ansara says that the staff of his clinic sees four or five patients a week who have harmed their skin by using lighteners. "The problem is that when they come, it is already too late. The damage is done."

In the United States, where skin lighteners have been less and less popular since the civil rights movement got under way in the late 1950s, the Food and Drug Administration recently mandated last year that manufacturers use no more than two per cent hydroquinone in most skin-treatment preparations. But, in a recent series of analyses privately commissioned by *Maclean's*, the Kenyan government's chem-

ical formula, "I am prepared to admit that we do have slightly above the FDA recommendation of two per cent, but within the safety parameter of five per cent," Wolf Krich, managing director of Henkel Kenya, said his company was "more strict than German law itself."

In addition to the medical debate,



Darkened skin from using lightening cream. Bleaching to look like whites?

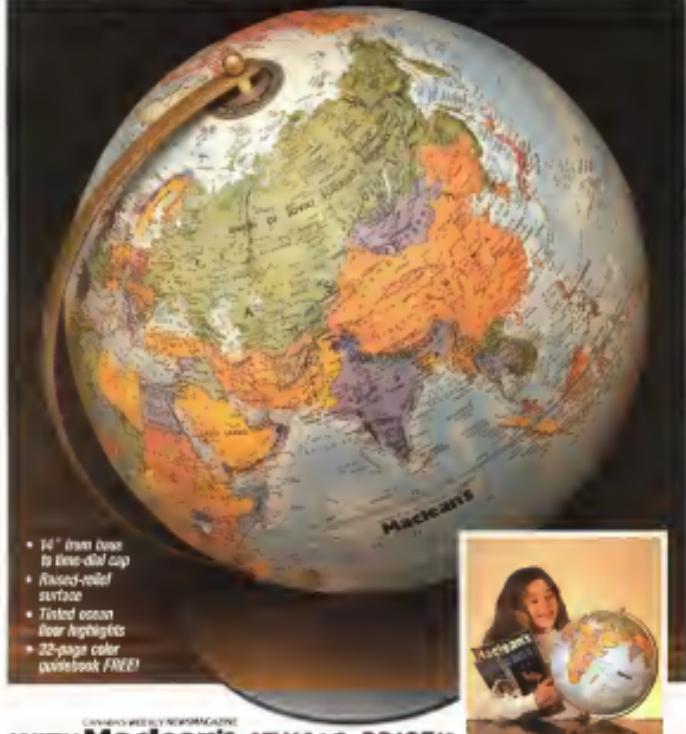
ist office found that some popular products contained considerably more hydroquinone than two per cent. The Kenyan chemists reported that two brands, Cleartone and Erol, manufactured by the Nicholas Corp. of Australia, contained 14.3 and 11.8 per cent hydroquinone respectively. Vaseline Mills, manufactured by the British firm GSK, registered roughly eight per cent, while Princess Cream, a product of West Germany's Henkel Ltd., had as much as 3.6 per cent hydroquinone.

Some manufacturers, however, have been quick to dispute the findings. The Nicholas Corp.'s regional vice-president, Michael Barker, said that while he was not at liberty to disclose individual

names to the white skin more than their own, "I am sure three male readers in a joint letter to the *Kenya Daily Nation* newspaper last month 'some girls' still sell their beautiful black faces to look like whites. Bleaching the face has led to an increase in prostitution, which is itself a social evil." While most African countries are mostly aware of the problem, only the Zimbabwe government has introduced legislation restricting the sale of hydroquinone preparations. Customers must now request the products from the drugstore. For their part, Oshiro and Ansara would like to see similar legislation in all the African countries where the creams are sold.

—ROLAND TYRELL in Nairobi

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Divers pulling Chalibachuk from the pool; the consequences were irreversible

## HEALTH

# Diving into danger

**A**s Soviet diver Sergei Chalibachuk prepared to execute a risky 3½-metre(!) dive from a 10-m platform at chin search's World University Games in Edmonton, some of his fellow competitors nervously refused to watch. Their concern was well-founded. The 21-year-old athlete nosedived and smashed into the diving platform in front of thousands of shocked spectators, splitting open his skull. When Chalibachuk died in Edmonton's University Hospital last week, seven days after the accident, Canadian diving officials were struggling to dispel their sport's newly acquired darkened image. Diving mishaps are, in fact, the third-leading cause of crippling spinal injuries among Canadians (after sendents on the road and on the job). But few of the water sport's victims are competitive divers, most are young men who take themselves "headfirst" into the shallow ends of backyard pools without thinking of the consequences.

Still, heading into the water at 230 g/h after spinning rapidly through multiple somersaults less than an arm's length from a solid platform is a "high-risk stiff," acknowledge Doug McDevitt, diving supervisor at the Edmonton games. But he adds that after watching divers compete for over 25 years, he has seen only two other major spinal injuries and neither caused long-term disability. At the same time, every summer dozens of Canadians venture into the water to cool off after spinal damage that will leave them paralyzed for life. Two stories of diving accidents—of which

## Antismokers flex their muscles

By Jacqueline Swarts

**I**n the town of Ilesu, in southwestern Nigeria, a popular movie drew a large crowd when it was shown free of charge in the central square. Also free were the packages of cigarettes that were handed out afterward. "With that kind of promotion, it is easy to get people hooked on cigarettes," lamented Dr. Deji Fani-Peace, a physician at the University of Lagos College of Medicine in Nigeria who attended the Fifth World Conference on Smoking and Health in Winnipeg last week. Fani-Peace and other physicians, representatives of international agencies, researchers and consumer activists met to share research and bolster their cause.

An ex-civilian women spoke with European scientists and distinguished heads of medical schools traded tactics with billboard-defacing antismoking activists. It was clear that a worldwide campaign had been firmly launched. The overall target was smoking, but the enemy was not so much the addicts themselves as the multinational companies that manufacture and promote cigarettes. Health Minister Monique Blignier referred the aggressive spirit of the movement. Declaring smoking the "single most important preventable cause of illness and death," she announced her intention to tackle the problem by making tobacco taxes

One industry spokesman in Montreal, commenting on the week's events, ar-

Rickert: a transnational health effort



—RICHARD D. JOHNSON in Toronto

gued that statements relating smoking to health hazards are not backed by rigorous and objective studies. "Let's not fall into sensationalism," said Michel Godfroid, manager of public affairs for Bassett and Hedges (Canada) Ltd., a subsidiary of the transnational Philip Morris Inc. "We are talking about the health of people and we want to know what the facts are."

Throughout the week, speakers characterized tobacco over and over again as a major health problem. In the past, said Dr. Robert Maurovich, co-ordinator of the World Health Organization's Program on Smoking and Health, epidemics were spread by bacteria, animals and people. But now, he said, "we are being confronted by a new phenomenon: man-made epidemics spread by images, aided by every device of modern communication technology. This phenomenon reaches to every part of the world."

With the annual growth of the cigarette market in Canada down to half the rate of the mid-1970s, a trend reflected in other parts of the Western world, the tobacco industry faces an uncertain future. Its response has been to pursue potential growth markets among them, women and smokers of both sexes who are reassured by reductions in tar and nicotine contents. But with a worldwide advertising budget that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) now calculates to be \$4 billion annually, the industry's largest new target is the developing countries. "They are virgin territory," according to Dr. Michael McGinnis, U.S. deputy assistant secretary for health. And if current marketing trends persist, because will be the leading cause of death in developing countries in 20 years, he

If you drink rum  
because you like  
the taste,  
try Appleton Gold,  
Jamaica's famous spirit.

said—overstating malnutrition and related disease.

Conference participants maintained a smoke-free environment at the three levels of the Winnipeg Convention Centre. "I have for a fact that some people smoke as an excuse," enthused Dr. Franz Adelholz, professor of medicine at the Free University of Berlin. "What is more important is that here we can see people not smoking just because it is not socially acceptable." But while the Norwegian delegates were pleased for acknowledging the design for a禁煙运动 by the year 2000, and the Swedish delegates confidently declared that the growing New Generation of Norwegian youth movement, the opposite trend seemed to be taking hold in the Third World.

The hazards of tobacco go beyond disease. When people spend a large proportion of a small income on cigarettes, they spend less on nutrition. And as more land is given over to lucrative tobacco crops, less is available to grow food. Although many developing countries earn large revenues by growing tobacco, those benefits, smokers apart, are offset by the cost of illness, disability and land damage.

Delegates also criticized the marketing of "soft" cigarettes. Their users tend to smoke more and inhale more deeply than they would with stronger cigarettes, according to Wilkins Roberts, a University of Waterloo statistics professor. And British psychiatrist M.A.H. Russell claimed that smokers simply adjust their smoking habits to maintain the nicotine level in their blood, no matter what kind of cigarettes they smoke. As a result, he said, governments should allow a low-tax, high-nicotine cigarette that would give smokers their "fix" with less of the tar associated with cancer.

A prime marketing target for million-dollar cigarettes is women, and U.S. cigarette companies spent \$8 billion on advertising women's magazines alone in 1983, said De Jossue Lecat, director of smoking and health at the U.S. Department of Health and Welfare. "It's interesting what we tell our young people about smoking," she said. "It contradicts us when we try to tell them it is not safe, not sexy, not attractive."

On the government level, the World Health Organization now records about 90 countries that have some form of legislation controlling smoking, a three-fold increase since 1976. Yet the tobacco industry is "a transnational enterprise," said WHO's Macrae. "That is why it is so powerful. The health enterprise must therefore also be transnational." The determination of the 1,300 people attending the Winnipeg conference suggests the antismoking drive has indeed transcended borders. □

## MEDIA WATCH

# The paradox of the press legislation



By George Bain

**T**HREE aren't a lot of people around who would argue that having all the free newspapers in the world try to one-up each other is of value to society. Good Times. Consequently, there will be no great salvoes from the papers against the bid that is more than twice the price of a newspaper. A new daily newspaper etc., if passed, will put on the competitive tendencies of the Thorsons, Southam and other large newspaper chains. There are too few owners of free money newspapers already. But it can be argued that the same proposals that are intended to keep competition from becoming less are also capable of working against those being raised.

For example, if Ken Thomson is at the peak for the day are day denied to take a run against Southam's *Evening Standard Spectator*, or if either Thomson or Southam decided that for a policy handful of millions they might conduct on the people of Saint John or Moncton the bone of competition in the Irving papers, someone, somehow, would say no. They are already at the limit of what they may cover—beyond it, in fact, although it is not proposed to roll them back.

I am not so simple as to have overlooked the fact that, except for the newsmen of *The Toronto Star* in Edmonton and Calgary and an unrelated Sun in Winnipeg, new city newspapers haven't been popping up like dandelions on a suburban lawn. Neither is it obvious that the same now in the wars against Southam and Thomson under the *Comics* Investigation Act, doesn't arise from an excess of competitive new. Nevertheless, because they are obtainable and have the expertise and money, they have to be considered at least reasonable candidates to start new newspapers or to convert weeklies into dailies. Rolling them out, therefore, congressional, however slightly, the chance of new competition developing locally, a paradoxical effect of a policy intended to keep competition from decreasing sensibly.

Of anything in the Fleischman proposals that might make newspapers better there is none. The medicalization minister would argue that the scheme to give newspapers as much as \$150,000, in sums of not more than \$50,000 a year, to set up regional or foreign bureaus is so intended—as it may be—but it will come to naught because the papers won't have it. Mail subsidies, which publications in general have not claimed at all, are one thing—they are capable of being used at an absolute minimum to reinforce the publication than to the reader—or accepting cash money for maintenance makes a trifle less much being kept.

It is a case to be made for government intervening at all to get newspapers to do more, a better means than offering cash would be to create incentives. That, in effect, is what the postal regulations did as the period 1983 to 1985, when the mails were much more important to newspapers in serving rural readers. Newspapers qualified for a cheap rate—15 cents a pound vs four cents—if advertising did not exceed 20 per cent. Since it was not practicable to produce as with this paper for reading and a faster one for urban readers, the 50-50 paper became the norm. Newsgage the rough rule is 80-40, the heavier end being cut, and not all keep it down to that on all days. The mads are not as important to newspapers now, but if ways can be found to create new allowances to be earned by ed dailies because they produce a vital commodity, so, no doubt, they could for newspapers—if needed.

That, of course, is the question. Newspapers have been through a hard time but, according to media stock analysts, they are recovering very nicely. If there is no need, then perhaps the public is entitled to ask why more owners and publishers are not talking in such terms as these: "What's a newspaper for? Is it only to make money?" I don't believe that. Newspapers have an inherent responsibility to enlighten people. The words are those of Bill Murphy, publisher of the Baltimore Sun, reflecting in the telephone the other day to my question about how his paper, with a circulation of 180,129 daily and 380,000 Sunday, maintains seven foreign bureaus, with nine staffers and 18-person Washington bureau. No Canadian newspaper or group does so well, including, among independents, *The Toronto Star*, with twice those circulation figures, and among groups, Southam, with 15 dailies, plus the weekly *Financial Times*, and a combined circulation of 1.5 million. If we do not rise to the level of the Americans, best, money and circulation won't wash as an explanation. □

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## FOR THE RECORD

### Fidelity in small packages



Compact discs and player: solving problems of background noise and record wear

For almost 100 years, technicians have searched for the perfect means of sound reproduction. From wax-coated cylinders to vinyl discs, the major weaknesses of recording have been the background noise and the wear of the stylus on the groove.

Because many classical albums are recorded digitally, listeners might expect classical CDs to boast better sound than pop releases. But the first batch of classical CDs produced mixed results. Both new versions of Gustav Mahler's *The Planets*, from Lorin Maazel and *L'Orchestre National de France* (DG) and Herbert von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic (DG/PolyGram), fail to provide a sonic spectacular. The full recording of the Moanin' performances displays a sentinel timeliness that has matched so much of his recent work. In the von Karajan version, the recording gives the Berlin strings a nasty graininess in the lead passages. That same grain has been one of the drawbacks of digital recordings and is still persistent in some CDs.

Many audiophiles are willing to pay those prices because of the quality and durability of the CDs. While the CD version improves the stereo separation and dynamic range, it cannot eliminate the weaknesses of the old-fashioned tape-recording processes. The shallow sound on Barbra Streisand's *Gratify* (CBS) is starker than in the LP incarnation. But Toto, a Los Angeles band which knows how to use studio technology to full effect, greatly enhances its sound on CD. On *Toto IV* (CBS), the brushed cymbal shimmer and the bass is gloriously gut-thumping. Similarly, Van Halen's thunderous sound track for *Clown of Fire* (PolyGram) glitters in its new, pure mode. And the CD version of Dire Straits' (*PolyGram*) is a revelation: crisp, clear and free of the surface noise that interfered with Mark Knopfler's complex guitar work on the Canadas' grunting of the record. But it's same cases the brightening of sound works

against the recording. The bass whoring of Earth, Wind and Fire's *Reprise* (CBS) plays hoarse with woof speakers.

Because many classical albums are recorded digitally, listeners might expect classical CDs to boast better sound than pop releases. But the first batch of classical CDs produced mixed results. Both new versions of Gustav Mahler's *The Planets*, from Lorin Maazel and *L'Orchestre National de France* (DG) and Herbert von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic (DG/PolyGram), fail to provide a sonic spectacular. The full recording of the Moanin' performances displays a sentinel timeliness that has matched so much of his recent work. In the von Karajan version, the recording gives the Berlin strings a nasty graininess in the lead passages. That same grain has been one of the drawbacks of digital recordings and is still persistent in some CDs.

One of the recordings that originally gave digital a bad name was Isaac Stern's 40th Anniversary Celebration (CBS), featuring violinist Stern, Pinhas Zukerman and Itzhak Perlman. A recording that reduced the music to high-pitched noise spoke the unreality of the occasion. In its CD version, much of the magnificence is elevated. By contrast, one of the first recordings to give digital a good name was the Montreal Symphony Orchestra's rendering of Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé* (PolyGram). The full-bodied 1981 recording is now free of any surface defects. Its grain-free sound and confident performance are perfectly suited for the compact disc that charms and deserves to last a lifetime.

—GERALD LEVITT

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such pride in introducing this beer brewed in his name.

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Keep a silent partner on ice.

## LEISURE

# Sky-high videogames

Passengers hoping to lean back and relax on *cir Air's* come-hair flight from Vancouver to Amsterdam may be surprised—if not dismayed—to find their seatmates playing tennis with Snappy or dodging Doctor Kong on sleeping, shaking videogames. The airline has just introduced 16 portable videogame sets on the route as a trial to entertain its passengers. The hand-held units, which cost \$12 each, are built-in sets on food trays, even for \$3.50 each. And by mid-July the U.S. airlines, including TWA and United, had also begun carrying games on board if passenger response is favorable, *cir Air* plans to install permanent sets in trays that will store in the sun racks. But in Canada, says Carolyn Dobson, a public affairs assistant in Toronto, is not planning to put videogames on flight flights.

The idea of in-flight videogames came to Michael Altman, president of Air Video Inc. of Toronto, when he became seatmate on a vacation flight to the Dominican Republic three years ago. Back in Toronto, he assembled a prototype and took out a battery-powered set complete with headphones and glowing screens, on a flight for a test run. "No one seemed to mind," he said. "Airplanes are quite noisy by themselves." Now his firm provides some of the sets used by *cir Air. Orders are made by Alita Corp. of San Jose, Calif.*

The response from passengers is vital to the success of the new gimmick, and noise is a major concern. "We felt that our sets should keep because the texture of the game is important," said Thorek. "A player must hear as well as see the results." A video enthusiast may appreciate that kind of thinking. But some seatmates may not enjoy listening to a someone snoringly from a game played by a sleeping video addict. For its part, Altman has silenced his airborne sets "so that games would not disturb your neighbor," said the company's director of operations, Richard Therrien.

Thorek says personally installed units would be solar-powered, and Altman is now working on two new series. "We are trying to move into more cerebral games and eventually programmable computers," said Therrien. Far, long-distance travellers, and their neighbors, will have to settle for Snappy lobbing a few balls into the back court.

—JUNE KOROBKIN  
in Toronto



Transits, Rhythms and past, old memories and a wiggles the dancers cannot resist

## FILMS

# Dancing the night away

### STAYING ALIVE

Directed by Sylvester Stallone

**A** is a sequel to the phenomenally successful and deeply affecting *Saturday Night Fever*. *Staying Alive* is the most primitive attempt at resurrection. The original's working-class hero, Tony Manero (John Travolta), who found a release from his frustrations on the floor of a Brooklyn discotheque, has moved to Manhattan and is trying to land a job in a Broadway musical. Tony's mate, the sweetie-pie Linda (Lorraine Bracco), now pregnant and pre-fledgling *Stayin' Alive*, will come up as surprise that Tracy Manero will go the distance. In fact, the movie is devoid of any surprise, whatever, merely serving as a grim reminder of the hand-me-down mentality afflicting the movie industry. Edited rather than directed (shaky images are matched with rhythmic but totally banal music), *Staying Alive* is the sort of waste television flabulence with rippling male muscles. When Travolta, clad in a loincloth, comes a-knocking in the contrived, energy finale, it becomes clear what the movie is all about: flesh and old memories.

Tony Manero and his friends from *Saturday Night Fever* would have laughed at the idea of Susan Altagracia, a ludicrous Broadway musical about the

rise of a man from hell to heaven. And Manero would hardly recognize himself as his formerly street-smart character has descended into the "new" and "cool" gates of Eddy. To play on the audience's nostalgia, the famous dance can't cease out of mouthless, just like the plot. Manero must make his choice between two one-dimensional "love interests": a nice girl (Cynthia Rhodes) who loves him, and a conniving English dancer (Gloria Hagan). The viewer will have no difficulty guessing who wins the man's heart.

Apart from the spurious visual and sexual pyrotechnics, the moviemakers are downright sloppy. They have expertly borrowed the opening male seduction from the beginning of Bob Fosse's *All That Jazz*, and cootiecoo lapses, especially concerning sequins, abound. Furthermore, it simply does not ring true that Manero would be forced to live in a lonely hotel populated by bag ladies. During the matinée, unscripted changes ensue. Stallone goes past sleepiness into sleep. His dreams seem to be, when in doubt, sex and solitude. Only a unusually knowing scene between Manero and his mother (Julie Bovasso) transpires on the turf of reality. As for Travolta, he evades an excess of manufactured sensitivity and a wiggle that the camera cannot resist.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

# Sticky sentiment at centre court

### SPRING FEVER

Directed by Joseph Lanzman

**S**pring Fever is the movie equivalent of vanity publishing. Toronto filmmaker John F. Bennett is the producer; his 12-year-old daughter, tennis sensation Carling Bassett, is the star, and his wife, Susan Bassett, is the publicist. Remarkably, *Spring Fever* has some redeeming features. In fact, there are a few moments in the sentimental comedy when the stuff actually tells something substantial.

Carling Bassett plays Karen Castle, the poor, 13-year-old daughter of a Las Vegas dancer (Susan Anzil), who enters the Junior National Tennis Championships in Florida. Castle is the underdog: a skanky, whine-cracking kid who is overmedicated (the only visible Canadian content in the film). She triumphs, of course, but not before neither competitors nor her, officials unfairly disqualify her from the tournament for stealing and her mother drags her through an emotional gauntlet.

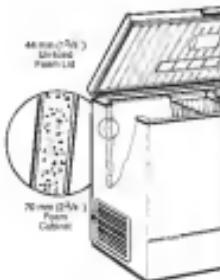
The scriptwriters of *Spring Fever* obviously find it hilarious to plant bad words in the mouths of 13-year-olds. They angle that stiffness with sticky sentimentality. It is difficult to decide where to look during the endless primping of Karen and her friend Melissa rampaging sashay through the sand while a singer on the sound track croons. "It's so easy being me/kid not what they want to be."

Fortunately, some social comment leavens the saccharines when the film exhibits the hypercompetitiveness of organized childhood sports. In one griping scene, a little older than Karen, a boy (Jordan Pundik) is told he's not good enough and is told to leave his back on a court in an attempt to force him to play. In a few more disturbing scenes, Melrose's cocaine-sniffing champion (Lisa Foster) loses her hair in a tricichlo. The plaid-faced girl looks utterly ridiculous as she peers up at male strippers. A sense of overwhelming evil charges the screen but, given the shallowness of the rest of the film, that intention appears to be accidental.

Most of the supporting cast displays more blow-dried good looks than personality. But Jensen Walter gives a chilling performance as Melrose's cold-blooded mother. And when the soloist-free Bassett of the tedious task of speaking profanity, she exudes a startling freshness. The young Welshwoman seems never stale big bag in Hollywood, but she does nothing to jeopardize her place in the hearts of Canadian tennis fans.

—JOHN ROMEO

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## BOOKS

# The architect of chuckles

### SLEUCHING TOWARDS KALAMAZOO

By Peter De Vries

(McClelland and Stewart, \$11.95)  
177, 80

"I have never, to the best of my knowledge," chuckles" says Amos Thrasher, protagonist and narrator, architect of Peter De Vries' 21st novel, *Sleuching Towards Kalamazoo*. "Planning power to chuckle." Thrasher continues later, "Neither do I wish to be the cause of others doing so." Coming from someone who looks at life with relentless irony and sarcasm set, the device not to be the cause of amusement is a strange ambition indeed. The seasoned Thrasher sees his alliance with his Grade 8 teacher and the ensuing birth of their son, Alab, as the starting point of the sexual revolution. He watches with bemusement as his minister father loses both his faith and his wife in a public debate to an atheist dermatologist, Dr. Mallard. Both debaters enrage each other by the single issue that is rich with narrative promise—the debate—with the same confounding facility that propels *Upon Like Confinement* throughout the novel. In the hands of, say, a John Updike, the story of two cars who exchange convictions and a wife could be a wonderful entertainment. For De Vries, though, just one more pose to add to his high but testifying pile.

—DAVID MACFARLANE

attitude, or nature. One quite germane to this contention?"

Unfortunately for deficiency publishers everywhere, the answer is no—whereas before a De Vries novel, and it is his main contribution that best protects him from criticism, De Vries has the intent of the chronicler, not the grouch—a bad dog on a phonograph. When Thrasher's employer, Stoddard, falls off a street he lives on first as popularized by poets, poets and a journalist, Thrasher fears that he can hear the gag coming a mile off. So, by this time, can the wary reader. What did Stoddard call me literary a street? Thrasher prepares himself, "I called it the writer's block."

By the midpoint of *Sleuching Towards Kalamazoo*, all the cleverness begins to wear thin. De Vries even skirts the single issue that is rich with narrative promise—the debate—with the same confounding facility that propels *Upon Like Confinement* throughout the novel. In the hands of, say, a John Updike, the story of two cars who exchange convictions and a wife could be a wonderful entertainment. For De Vries, though, just one more pose to add to his high but testifying pile.

—DAVID MACFARLANE

### MACLEAN'S BEST SELLER LIST

- 1 The Little Drummer Girl, Gervais (2)
- 2 Christine, King (2)
- 3 White Gold Wielder, Donmond (2)
- 4 Ancient Evangeline, Moller (2)
- 5 1919 Olympic Two, Clarke (2)
- 6 Voice of the Heart, Bradford (2)
- 7 Flower Dragoon, Strand (2)
- 8 The Summer of Katya, Thompson (2)
- 9 Ascend Into Hell, Greeley (2)
- 10 Award, Thorne (2)
  
- 1 Novelties
- 2 In Search of Excellence, Peters and Waterman Jr. (2)
- 3 Megamind, Norbert (2)
- 4 The Last Lion, Manchester (2)
- 5 The Outsider People, Moyer (2)
- 6 The P-Plan Diet, Epstein (2)
- 7 Jerry Fodor's Workload Book, Fodor (2)
- 8 The Love You Make, Brown and Gurney (2)
- 9 Royal Service, Avery (2)
- 10 Out on a Limb, MacLennan (2)
- 11 The Prince of Power, West

G. P. Putnam's Sons

## OBITUARY

# A messenger of hope

When Catherine Ray died of a heart attack last week at 34, Canada lost one of its most distinguished, original and widely read writers at a time when her work was gaining renewed attention. Winner of a Canada Council Medal for outstanding cultural achievement and the recipient of three Governor General's Awards, she was the author of nine works of fiction. Still, she was best known for her first book, *The Photo* (1968), a searing novel about working-class life in Montreal. Recently adapted for the screen in both English and French, *The Photo* was Canada's final entry at the Moscow Film Festival last week and will be released nation-wide next fall.

The youngest of 12 children, Ray was born in the French-speaking enclave of St. Boniface, Man., where she began to write stories when she was 12. She taught in an assortment of Prairie schools, studied drama in Europe and worked as a journalist in wartime Montreal. The empathy she showed for working-class people in her fiction un-

tilled the soil of her imagination. Her last published work of fiction, *Chaldeans* (McRae 1979), was remarkable directly in its portrayal of innocence, and at the time of her death she was working on her memoirs. Recent photographs of the writer show a strong, resolute woman whose eyes are filled with the beauty of her life. Upon her face her memories were like birds in full flight.

No French-Canadian writer has ever touched the hearts of as many people across Canada. Ray's settings may partly account for her wide readership—such books as *Where Roots Water Rivers* and *The Roof Past Altar* most lovingly evoke Western Canada. But her popularity also pays tribute to



Key: resonance of human tenderness

her lasting faith in human nature. Only a few modern writers, notably Isaac Bashevis Singer, could match her gift of portraying warmth without sentimentality, joy without delusion. Even when her work described alienation and loneliness, it also reached out in hope. As she observed in her novel *The Captain*, "the only answer on earth consists of that tenderness for human beings which rises farthest beyond the bounds of reason." In her best writing, Ray revealed the resilience and the inexplicable power of goodness. —MARK AUBREY

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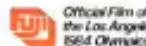


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# The matter of the Reagan mole

By Joe Schlesinger

**T**hey will never catch Ronald Reagan with a smoking gun as they did Nixon and Nixon. They might as well start trying. It is just too much to expect that Reagan, who can hardly wait to leave at his desk, having been ousted master enough industry and curiosity to read Jimmy Carter's classified classified books, maybe. Purchased briefing books or anything over four pages, for get it.

Mind you, that still leaves the possibility of an accessory charge. Reagan prepared for his 1980 debate with President Carter by using David Stockman in training sessions as a stand-in for Jimmy and Stockman, we now know, based his Carter role on the pilfered papers.

So Reagan clearly benefited from what appears to have been handled as stolen property. But he would have to prove that he knew it was stolen. And it doesn't take 10 FBI agents to figure out that a White House staff, which doesn't like bothering the press with such petty details as the shooting down of Libyan planes, is hardly going to let him know about a bunch of papers — well, or of just happened to walk out of the Carter White House and money right over to Reagan headquarters.

There's been talk of a mole or moles. When the briefing-book caper first surfaced, it was generally assumed that the book had been handed over by a low-level White House employee. A lot of people, almost automatically, said it must have been some unhappy secretary. This assist assumption was reinforced by names and a headline or two about "sexual favors" being involved. But before too long there were so many papers leaked that it became clear that no one secretary, however bunched, bedeviled or befuddled by sexual favors, could have got her hands on all of them.

There was the briefing book itself. There were names on domestic policies and on foreign policy. And there were papers from the National Security Council. Altogether, more than 1,000 pages.

The White House—any president's White House—is a compartmentalized operation. National Security Council people don't give their papers to the domestic policy people. And the re-election campaign people certainly didn't go around handing out the presidential brief-

ing papers to others in the White House any more than football coaches in the Grey Cup or Super Bowl coaches knew their game plans for the stadium hot dog vendors. Soif there was an angle mole, it would have had to be at the top.

There's another thing. Put yourself in the shoes of the Reagan people. Let's say the Carter briefing book just dropped over the transom in plain sight.

Would you just assume right away that it was a plant, a setup? Of course you would. Yet all the evidence so far shows that Reagan's people treated the briefing book as the real McCoy. That would suggest that they knew and trusted this source, that they had checked and rechecked the briefing book notes before trusting him/her/them enough to program their candidate with the proper responses to counter charges raised in the briefing book.

Given the importance of the document,

**'There will never be a smoking gun in the 'Debategate' caper: Ronald Reagan hardly reads his own briefing books'**

the source would have had to be a reliable, stable and decent known quantity. And that points to the possibility of someone who was either planted in the White House or recruited. If you then multiply the mole factor by whatever number of bodies was needed to haul out the last fact that fit his way into the Reagan campaign files, what you are left with is a full-blown conspiracy.

There is no evidence of such a conspiracy. Not at all. All there is is a suggestion by some Democrats, journalists and others. The suspicion was aroused by the presence in the Reagan organization of a number of former CIA and other intelligence officials. It was reinforced when it was revealed recently that William Casey, who was then Reagan's campaign manager and is now head of the CIA, ran an "intelligence operation" during the campaign. The aim of the operation was to intercept the Carter camp, which was suspected of trying to pull off an "October surprise," some spectacular act that would help Carter on to victory.

What Casey and his crew were afraid of was that Carter might launch a set-

Ace Schlesinger is on vacation.

and operation to free the American hostages in Iran and neatly pull it off. So they had a network of retired military officers checking military bases for unusual movement. What the little old generals and admirals in tennis shoes would have done if they had discovered something has never been fully explained. Would they really have blown the whistle on another rescue attempt?

Anyway, here was Bill Casey, whose record as a spy master goes way back to the Second World War, all of a sudden being named not just as the head of an election campaign intelligence operation but also as the purveyor of Carter White House papers. Casey has denied handling the papers. In the suspicious reason? If not Casey, then who? And if it wasn't a conspiracy or even theft, what was it? Just a spontaneous mass betrayal by disloyal Carter staffers?

It's all just so much press hype, you might say. The Republicans are saying yes. Reagan has said it. But it isn't. On the contrary, the press was, in a way, dragged into this one. In fact, let's face it, the press snuffed it.

Eight days before the 1980 debate, the Elkhart Truth, a newspaper in Indiana, reported that David Stockman had publicly boasted he had laid a "paved" egg of the briefing book in preparing Reagan for the debate. The report was on page 15. And it stayed there. No one picked it up.

Now imagine what would have happened if the report had spread beyond Elkhart into the major news media. There would have been an uproar.

At the time Reagan's main problem was to convince the voters that he was trustworthy. The debate helped him to do that, and there are people who say it was decisive. But if the Stockmen had had "Reagan clause," the result of the debate, and maybe the election, too, might well have been different.

If only . . . well, at your next barbecue party when the conversation lags you could play an interesting game of "If" what otherwise would be all-American, Canadian and others—have been asked if Ronald Reagan had lost the election? Don't worry about your guests getting too depressed. I have an instant antidote absolutely guaranteed to snap them out of it: "Is one word or less? Just all the glories that might have been if Jimmy Carter had been re-elected."

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